

Saddling the Dogs

Journeys through Egypt and the Near East

edited by

Diane Fortenberry
and
Deborah Manley

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Diane Fortenberry and Deborah Manley

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Introduction

In the absence of horses, saddle the dogs.

This Arab proverb, suggesting the uncompromising determination of nomads to keep moving, whatever the obstacles, epitomizes also the travelling ethos of many early visitors to the 'exotic East'. The journeys examined here are linked by the light they shed on the experience of travel in Egypt, Greece and the Ottoman Balkans, and the Near East from the 17th to the early 20th century – not so much what was seen as how one got there and how one got around once arrived; the vicissitudes and travails, both expected and strange, that characterized the passage. The derivation of the word 'travel' from the 14th-century term for 'toil' or 'labour', possibly reflecting the difficulty of travel in the Middle Ages, is relevant here.

Throughout history, travellers have been touched by the pure desire to move, despite or because of the difficulties involved. As the Scottish writer Robert Louis Stevenson said in *Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes* (New York 1899, 68–69):

I travel not to go anywhere, but to go. I travel for travel's sake. The great affair is to move; to feel the needs and hitches of our life more nearly; to come down off this feather bed of civilization, and find the globe granite underfoot and strewn with cutting flints.

When asked where he came from, Socrates did not reply 'Athens', but 'the world', and the Alexandrian Greek Constantine Cavafy – in arguably his most famous poem, *Ithaca* (1911) – insists that the journey is always more important than the destination:

... But do not hurry the voyage.
Better to let it last for many years
and to anchor at the island when you are old,
rich with all that you have gained along the way,
not expecting that Ithaca will offer you riches.
Ithaca gave you the beautiful journey;
without her you would not have set upon the road.

The urge to stir has not always been seen so positively, however, for the 17th-century French mathematician, physicist and religious philosopher Pascal believed that all of human unhappiness stemmed from man's inability to remain quietly in one place: 'Notre nature est dans le mouvement ... La seule chose qui nous console de nos misères est le divertissement' (*Pensées*, 136).

The papers collected here, most of them originally delivered at ASTENE's VII Biennial Conference, held at the University of Southampton in July 2007, cover a range of journeys in Egypt, Greece and east as far as Persia. The purpose of these trips ranged from religious pilgrimages to diplomatic, commercial and military journeys, to middle-class package tours, and each of them is of interest for what it reveals about the realities of travel in Egypt, the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East at different times: the means by which travel was carried out, the dangers and discomforts encountered, the preparations made. Some voyagers (the pilgrims) travelled on internal journeys, and all of them on external ones – soldiers going to and from their posts of duty, young gentlemen drawn beyond the routes of the Grand Tour to Greece and Constantinople, clergymen seeking experience of the lands of the Bible, or drawn to Egypt by accounts of the discoveries to be made along the Nile – covering the ground on foot, horseback and in camel caravans, on ship and by train.

Early travellers to the region – at least those who were of a class to enable them to write and publish accounts of their journeys – liked to inflate their reports with learned (and often pious) references; later, in the 18th and 19th centuries, as more women and families took to the road, and travellers increasingly became tourists rather than explorers, the writers of travel accounts and guidebooks shifted from the didactic to the practical, offering advice to those who would follow. Much of the knowledge gained was passed on in Murray's *Handbooks* and later in Baedeker *Guides* – to Egypt, Syria and Palestine, Turkey and beyond. From such guides and travellers' accounts one might garner a detailed overview not only of what there was to see and how it should be seen, but also what dangers and inconveniences to avoid and how best to prepare for any that one could not. The papers that follow all reveal – overtly or between the lines – fascinating details of the act of travel in what was still, as late as the early 20th century, an exotic and mysterious part of the world.

Paul Robertson's analysis of the significance of the steamship in the traditional *hajj* pilgrimage, as experienced by the Egyptian traveller Muhammad Sadiq, not only examines Sadiq's religious ambivalence about modern changes to the traditional pursuit of hallowed pilgrimage and his worry about the 'symbolic significance of the new technology on the Muslim pilgrim psyche', but also explores the practical side-effects of the new mode of transportation, including the increased transmission of disease on crowded ships and the lack of a period of quarantine that had been enforced by the long overland journey. The two

elements come together in Sadiq's description of the discovery of the secret burial of a pilgrim who died *en route* to Mecca in 1884, the traditional Muslim rituals of death and entombment sacrificed to the short-term advantages of modern technology.

Pilgrimage is also the subject of Hana Navrátilová's case study of three European Christian travellers who visited the Holy Land between the 1860s and the first years of the 20th century. Like Sadiq, the Catholic priests Josef Chmelíček, Anton Dolák and Josef Sedláček took advantage of logistical support groups along the way, in their cases established by the Austro-Hungarian community and the Church. Just as pilgrimage has always involved a physical as well as a spiritual journey, so, in the accounts that each of the three men published upon their return, practical advice and lively descriptions of sights and incidents are mixed with Biblical quotations and devotional guidance.

Bart Ooghe also compares journeys in his essay on a trio of 17th-century travellers to Mesopotamia, and the three quite different narratives that resulted from their travels. Two clerics – Manuel Godinho and Barthélemy Carré de Chambon – and the merchant Joannes Leeuwenson traversed what was then, to Europeans, a difficult and largely unknown area of the Near East in the performance of duties for, respectively, the Portuguese and French courts, and the United East India Company. Despite the fact that the three journeys took place over a short span of only 11 years and covered the same general area, each of these men produced a description of his journey that is distinctly individual. As Ooghe notes, both the experience of travel and the process of travel writing are premised on personal perspectives and backgrounds, and no two journeys are the same, either in their conduct or in the interpretation of them.

A different view of Mesopotamia is gleaned from Margaret Oliphant's account of the journey of diplomat Claudius James Rich and his wife Mary from Baghdad to Constantinople in 1813, 150 years after Godinho, Carré and Leeuwenson traversed the region. Claudius' journal of the trip and – even more – Mary's letters home bring to life a journey that was still, by the 19th century, beset with robbers and brigands but compared with travelling a century and a half earlier was perhaps more uncomfortable than actively dangerous. Mary Rich's impressions of the country and its people, seen through the eyes of a woman with a sense of humour and adventure, combine with Claudius' more scholarly details of caravans and conditions to paint a very distinctive picture of travel by Westerners across the Mesopotamian desert and the Anatolian plateau at the height of the Ottoman Empire.

The next paper begins on the Black Sea coast of northeast Turkey, whence the French architect Pascal-Xavier Coste and the artist Eugène Flandin set off for Persia in 1839 on a mission to record the ancient monuments of that land. The journey resulted in several magnificent folio volumes of engravings of the

Achaemenid and Sassanian remains and a lively account of the trip by Flandin; Coste's later publication of his autobiography supplements Flandin's original report. The French publications have been translated by Caroline Williams and tell a fascinating story not only of the first Western documentation of now famous examples of ancient Persian art, but also of the dangers of winter travel in the Zagros Mountains of Persia, the hazards of carrying out an artistic mission in the face of local suspicion and greed, the inevitable suffering from food poisoning and fever, and even such difficulties as the need to expel the local donkeys from one's pallet of straw before being able to bed down for the night. The success of Coste and Flandin's mission is a monument itself to the determination and resourcefulness of these 19th-century travellers.

The following two papers examine two quite different journeys undertaken in Egypt by American travellers in the first half of the 19th century. Cassandra Vivian discovered in the British Library a hitherto unpublished journal describing a horrific trip up the Nile during the Egyptian Expedition to Nubia in 1820–21, written by an American sailor known only as Khalil Aga, who had some association with the British Consul General Henry Salt. The daily entries in the journal record place names and descriptions along the length of the Nile, and chilling descriptions of traversing the great S-bend of the river and the rapids at the Fourth and Fifth cataracts.

In his consideration of the travels of Philip Rhineland, Andrew Oliver looks at an American from a rather different background. Unlike what we may assume about Khalil Aga, Rhineland came from respectable, middle-class, East Coast stock, and his rather more salubrious trip to Europe in 1838–39 was a sort of latter-day Grand Tour (complete with collecting expeditions), which he extended to include Egypt and Turkey. Despite his relatively comfortable tour he was, nevertheless, unable to avoid one of the common scourges of early travel: enforced quarantine in the Greek islands following an outbreak of plague in Alexandria. Only a few weeks later, as he returned to Europe from Constantinople, he was himself struck down by cholera and died in Vienna, victim of his own adventurousness.

Illness was an almost inevitable accompaniment to travel before improved systems of sanitation and commonly available immunization programmes. The causes, effects and remedies for one of the most feared group of diseases – plague – are detailed by Janet Starkey, who provides a fascinating history of plague under the Ottoman Empire, looking in particular at 18th and 19th-century reports not only by tourist-travellers but also by the medical men whose job it was to deal with the disease. As she says, the only effective prophylactic against plague was to leave the location of the epidemic. An understanding of the contagious nature of the disease resulted in the establishment of lazarettos in which potentially infectious people were quarantined, lest they carry illness to uninfected areas.

Medicines against the plague and other likely illnesses were among the vast number of necessary items listed in a manuscript discovered by Brenda Moon at Hopetoun House, near Edinburgh, which details the preparations made by a member of the Scottish gentry for a civilized trip along the Nile in the 1860s. The 'memorandum' and the Earl of Hopetoun's scrapbooks, containing sketches and watercolours made during the trip, bring to life the comments of Aldous Huxley some half a century later, that

people travel for the same reason as they collect art: because the best people do it. To have been to certain spots on the earth's surface is socially correct; and having been there, one is superior to those who have not. Moreover, travelling gives one something to talk about when one gets home. The subjects of conversation are not so numerous that one can neglect an opportunity for adding to one's store. *Along the Road: Notes and Essays of a Tourist* (New York 1925, p. 10)

Moving from the waters of the Nile to the sands surrounding it, Peta Reé examines the ship of the desert, the underrated camel, in her learned and light-hearted discourse on this indispensable means of transportation. For all its vengeful lack of cooperation and demonstrably malign attitude, the creature was understood by one and all as crucial to life in the desert. Its physical characteristics, uses, and generally contrary character are described first-hand by travellers from Richard Burton to Mark Twain – usually in tones of resentment and disgust but, just occasionally by a few, with wary affection.

Finally, Adéla Jůnova Macková looks at the commercial Travel Clubs of the short-lived first republic of Czechoslovakia, which were formed in the 1930s to enable a middle-class lately open to the possibilities of travel to make full and proper use of the experience. The packaged tours of the Travel Clubs not only provided the means of travel in every detail, but even offered help in arranging bank loans to pay for the trip. Those who wrote about the journey afterwards, such as Emílie Jahnová, whose book is examined here, might be said to have travelled in the mode of the 'perfect traveller': as eager for new experiences as to tell the story of them afterwards.

Diane Fortenberry
Deborah Manley

Death and Disorder in Muhammad Sadiq's *Star of the Hajj*: Steamships, Quarantine and their Impact on the Muslim Body

Paul Robertson

In 1884 an Egyptian traveller by the name of Muhammad Sadiq travelled to Mecca with his country's official entourage and produced a brief account of the experience in journal format. *Star of the Hajj: An Account of the Passage of the Mahmal by Land and Sea* recounts his second pilgrimage as a senior *hajj* official and his third visit to the Hijaz. This slim volume is one of a number of similar works penned by Egyptian officials in the late 19th and early 20th centuries – a literary trend that Sadiq himself seems to have started. All exhibit features of a hybrid travel genre, one that draws on the classical works of the *rihla* tradition as much as it is influenced by Western models of travel, exploration and, in particular, tourism. All reflect the philosophical and cultural concerns of traditional Islamic society as it negotiated the new narrative of European dominance and scientific progress, and all can be read for both the historical and literary significance of their contents.

Sadiq's contributions to this miniature canon are many and varied. Taken in their entirety, his works record the psychological development of an individual caught between East and West, tradition and modernity, religion and science. Read in this way, they reveal a personal and collective conflict that is projected onto the shrines at Mecca and Medina and articulated both through the mythical associations of the *hajj* and through the historical experience of Muslim travellers in the late 19th century. Sometimes this conflict manifests itself in his texts: for example, when a detailed description of map-making equipment switches unexpectedly to the poetry of a classical register in preparation for a religious formula (Robertson 2007, 155). At other times it finds expression in the tension generated by the juxtaposition of his images, photographs in particular, against passages that question the very legitimacy of the image-making activities in

which he is engaged (Sadiq 1881, 28). Occasionally, an object thrown up by the circumstances of the journey itself becomes a symbol for the ambiguities in which Sadiq is implicated, drawing together the threads of his disparate concerns and cutting across the conventional distinctions separating history from myth, fact from fiction.

This paper explores the dimensions of one such symbol, that of the steamship. Some years prior to his pilgrimage of 1884, Sadiq appears to have played a central role in persuading the Egyptian authorities to allow the official retinue to make use of steamship transportation, abandoning the hardships of the desert journey across the Sinai and down Arabia's western coast (Sadiq 1881, 57–60). The introduction of steamships to the Red Sea in the 1830s had paved the way for this development. Capable of completing the journey from Suez to Jeddah in three days, the new technology had quickly transformed the pilgrim experience of the journey to Mecca and Medina. For twelve centuries, the traditional overland caravans had offered pilgrims protection and logistical support, conferring legitimacy on the ruling powers that sponsored them and providing an important focus for the official and unofficial pageantry of traditional Muslim society. By contrast, a loosely regulated steamship industry developing haphazardly over the 19th century promoted itself solely on the principles of speed and convenience. As the century unfolded, increasing numbers of pilgrims voted with their feet, so that by the 1880s only the very poor still travelled with the official retinue by the overland route (*ibid.*, 6).

Sadiq's value as an historical observer of these changes is limited. By the time he undertook his steamship journey to Mecca, the problems of the new mode of transportation were plain for all to see. Whereas the 40-day overland journey had always provided a natural quarantine break, which the weak and the sick simply did not survive, steamships offered cramped conditions in which disease could thrive, as they transported vulnerable pilgrims in and out of the Hijaz in a matter of days. Twenty-seven cholera epidemics associated with the *hajj* are recorded between 1831 and 1912; an outbreak in 1865 killed one-sixth of the pilgrimage population, some 15,000 people. Those who lived to return to their homes took the disease with them and kindled an international epidemic affecting countries as far away from the Hijaz as western Europe and America. The West responded with a series of international conferences that discussed measures to control the spread of disease from the Hijaz. Two bodies, largely governed by international convention, were set up – the Constantinople Board of Health and the Egyptian Quarantine Board – and quarantine stations were established at Qamaran island in the Red Sea south of the Hijaz, at Wajh in Arabia itself, and at Tur in the Sinai (Peters 1994, 301–15).

Of these matters, or of the Western interventions in the conduct of the *hajj* that they provoked, there is little discussion or understanding in Sadiq's journal.

In fact, his main concern when he originally proposed that the official retinue travel to Mecca by the sea route is a naïve desire to preserve the ceremonies and processions associated with the *mahmal*, the empty but elaborate palanquin that symbolised suzerainty of the peripheral powers over Islam's central shrine and pilgrimage ritual (Sadiq 1881, 59–60). However, when passing judgement on Sadiq's awareness of the broader historical context, we should bear in mind that it was only in 1883 that the cause of cholera was finally understood, and only in 1926, a quarter of a century after Sadiq's death, that a cholera vaccination became compulsory for all pilgrims (*Western Arabia and the Red Sea* 1946, 464–72).

It is precisely this historical deficiency that opens up other ways of reading the journey of 1884 that Sadiq constructed, raising questions about the ways in which the mythology of the *hajj* and the cultural values he espoused channelled his perceptions of these changes along other lines. Central to the reading of his work that follows is the underlying sense of perceptual chaos and confusion that Sadiq appears to have unconsciously associated with the consequences of the new mode of transportation. If steamships meant speed and convenience, then they fitted in well with Sadiq's conscious narrative of scientific progress and exploration. But in suppressing the consequences of the new technology to marginal passages in his text, he unwittingly associates this symbol of modernity with the shadows cast over the journey by the political domination to which this traditional pilgrim was also subject (for further discussion, see Robertson 2007).

Following the work of Davies (2002) on death and funerary rites, this paper argues that the contrasting experiences of two deaths and burials witnessed by Sadiq on his journey are key to unravelling his deeper perceptions of the new mode of transportation. Whether as a symbol associated specifically with the steamship, a literary travel theme in its own right, or a motif that cuts across apparently unrelated passages in the work, death and the pilgrim response to the Muslim bodies he encounters provides a focus for these questions, linking myth to history and history to culture on a journey that cuts across the public and private spaces of Sadiq's life and times.

DEATH AND THE HAJJ

The *hajj* is often experienced by pilgrims as a rehearsal for the day of judgement, most notably in connection with the day-long vigil on the plain of 'Arafat. The mythical context of some of the less discussed elements of the ritual, such as the sense of rebirth that pilgrims often experience on completion, are also readily interpreted in terms of the themes of death, transformation and passage through the natural world. Sadiq himself (1881, 22) provides a good example of

the associations and connotations that are uppermost in the minds of many pilgrims when they approach Mecca:

On the day of *ihram*, everyone in the caravan, from prince to pauper, is dressed alike, stripped of their normal attire and the vanities of this world. Clothed in *ihram*, they take on the form of the dead wrapped in their funeral shrouds, for God has called the faithful to his Sacred House, requiring them to purify themselves when they adopt the state of *ihram* as a sign of inner and outer purity... Stripped of their normal clothes, the pilgrims are thus like the dead at the moment when the body is washed before burial, the form of *ihram* being synonymous with that of a burial shroud, and this allows them to enter before the door of His House in humility and submission, distracted by nothing else.

Passages expressing the experience of the Muslim pilgrim in similar terms are common to many formal and informal accounts of the pilgrim experience. In very broad terms, they combine popular piety with some standard theological symbolism and a naturalistic approach to the explanation of the significance of ritual, which arguably has its roots in the spiritual revival of the religious sciences proposed in the works of the 12th-century theologian, philosopher and mystic, Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali (198-, 235–41).

One way to understand this kind of response to the *hajj* is to interpret passages like this as tokens of the underlying role religious rituals can play in constructing an ordered world-view in which the fact of death is manipulated and controlled. And of course, the symbolic role played by the human body in bearing the values associated with that view and marking the identity of those subscribing to it is central. An advantage of framing the *hajj* in these terms is that it allows us to include cultural aspects of the journey to Mecca, such as the response to the death of pilgrims *en route*, and the impact of more recent historical developments, such as changes to transport and the spread of cholera, as part of a unified approach to the works of later Muslim travellers, who combined in their world-view a ritualised mythology with a narrative of progress, and had to negotiate the tensions between them.

But there is more to the theme of death and the *hajj* than just the collective and symbolic expression of an intuitive rhetoric against death. The *hajj* is, above all, a journey. Death, whether imminent or anticipated, may mark the point of a final transformation that awaits the pilgrim, but the symbolism associated with, for example, the rite of *ihram*, is more complex than a literal reading of Sadiq's own explanation would otherwise suggest. The sense of unity, of there being one Muslim body, which is achieved by pilgrims adopting the same dress, has both political-historical significance and a cultural-mythical resonance. At this early point in the rite, pilgrims are, in a very real sense, entering a magic circle, or *mandala*, which is at once both a representation of the self and

synonymous with the metaphorical heart of the Islamic sense of natural order (Jung 1995, 415–16). The fact of being denuded at one of the points of entry to that bounded space is equally central to the mythical reality of subsequently reaching an awareness of self – breaking down the boundaries separating the group from the individual and the conscious normality of everyday experience from the encounter with unconscious that the symbols of the *hajj* facilitate. That the *hajj* takes place annually and yet is often *the* once-in-a-lifetime event reinforces these parallel meanings, allowing individual pilgrims to articulate their own sense of death and rebirth and giving collective expression to the need for a regular reordering of the Muslim body.

Sadiq's account of his journey to Mecca in 1884 is rushed, and the sparse mix of official observations and diary entries mark it out, at least on the surface, as the most limited of all his works in literary scope. But beyond the fragmented surface of the text, and the isolated observations on the realities of his steamship experience, lie the more complex structures that underpin the mythical reality that the journey clearly held for him and for every pilgrim. The very title of the work, *Star of the Hajj*, is a form of words that positions his writing against the mythical backdrop of the Quran, most notably a key passage in which Abraham finally returns to his intuitive monotheistic roots, having rejected worship of the sun, the moon and the stars (Quran 6:76–78). And just to underline the point that this is no idle game of elusive scriptural allusions, the heavenly bodies are themselves surface expressions of the central symbol running through all his works, namely the shifting semantics of light and darkness (e.g. Sadiq 1881, 49) and the shadows cast by his experience of East and West, which led and frustrated Sadiq, both on this pilgrimage and on his broader journey towards death some twenty years later.

FROM MYTH TO HISTORY

The *hajj* has always presented a unique set of health problems. As early as the 10th century we find a practical health guide written for pilgrims travelling to Mecca, which notes that illness and disease were an inevitable part of the journey (Luqa 1992, 83). The piecemeal attempts at hygiene, for example by enforcing distinctions between drinking and bathing water or centralising animal sacrifice at one location, were never particularly effective until they were systematised in more recent times (Peters 1994, 307–10).

Unique to the history of pilgrim health in the 19th century is the fact transport developments led to the increasing intervention of Western powers in *hajj* affairs, as they struggled to control both the spread of cholera, a disease they themselves did not fully understand, and a ritual that they saw as an opportunity for anti-

colonial propaganda among their subject peoples (Roff 1982, 146). By the time Sadiq undertook his steamship journey to Mecca, the British and the Ottomans had ratified the Native Passenger Ship Act and the Pilgrim Traffic Regulations, imposing limits on pilgrim numbers and stipulating that doctors be included on larger ships. Further international measures included the establishment of the quarantine stations noted above.

If the mythical context of Sadiq's journey reflects the internal transformation of the Muslim body at pilgrimage time, the reality of modern history inflects the theme of death and rebirth, replacing wholeness with fragmentation, order with chaos. Following his arrival at the quarantine station at Tur on the return stage of his steamship journey, Sadiq (1884, 65–66) describes the 'waste land' created by the chaos and futility of the very modern arrangements that greeted all pilgrims returning from Mecca:

The quarantine area is located on a sandy expanse of land some way from the shore and includes a hospital and two metal buildings for storage. At a distance of one thousand metres there are four large and two small wooden structures in a dilapidated state, and the wind blows freely through them. Some two hundred metres distant one thousand tents stood. All were damaged: the domes were intact, but the surrounding walls were in tatters, torn on all sides. Were a healthy person to spend a winter night in such accommodation it would make him ill, especially were it to rain. ... Among the other 'marvels' of the site were that those accommodated in the tents were banned from contact with those in the wooden structures, even though they were from the same vessel and when I walked from the wooden structures to the tents no one stopped me in either direction.

To a man of Sadiq's military background and with his attention to detail, this was clearly an inadequate provision of services, and the historical sense of public disorder in this passage contrasts sharply with the mythical reordering of the community anticipated by the pilgrim rituals at an earlier stage of his journey.

There was much worse to come. In one of the tents Sadiq visited he noticed a noxious odour, which he reported to the doctor. The doctor ordered that the tent be moved, but only to discover that the tent was concealing a shallow grave. It later transpired that the decaying corpse was that of a pilgrim who had arrived on an earlier boat and died during the quarantine period. Fearful of themselves being detained further, his friends had resolved to bury him in secret where he lay. Sadiq's sense of offending death and his shock at the impoverished burial rhetoric in which the diseased body at its moment of final transformation is involved is palpable.

Just as the larger pilgrim body becomes a symbol for expressing the mythical reality of the *hajj*, so the corpse Sadiq uncovered at Tur is implicated in a much broader set of historical symbols than its immediate context in Sadiq's account

would otherwise suggest. The glorious associations of the traditional overland caravan had been lost to the short-term advantages of modern technology. The steamship trade had spread death and disease and resulted in the loss of political, social and cultural control. Like the corpse buried under the tent, and because of the transport developments that had taken place in recent years, the *hajj* was now 'matter out of place' (Douglas 1966, 44), and the Muslim body itself had to be quarantined to prevent the spread of infection across the changing boundaries of the modern world. In the devastating image of social and political alienation painted by Sadiq at this point on his second pilgrimage to Mecca, there is an uncomfortable awareness that modernity had more implications for the Islamic world and for the *hajj* than Sadiq had perhaps anticipated when he first proposed the switch to the new mode of transport.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPACES OF THE TRAVELLER'S TEXT

In the mythical and historical contexts of Sadiq's journey, death thus expresses a very different set of experiences, values and connotations. In terms of myth, death serves as a metaphor for the possibility of a natural transformation undergone individually and collectively at pilgrimage time; in terms of history, it reflects the disorder of an unnatural development imposed upon the Muslim body across the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries. In both cases, however, death always serves as a public symbol on which Sadiq hangs the collective concerns of his society, albeit articulating them through the filter of his own perceptions.

Death makes one further appearance in Sadiq's journal, in a brief passage that records the death of his wife, Ulfat. It is this passage, relating his private response to the loss, that is key to understanding both the nature of Sadiq's own transformations at this stage in his travelling career and the symbolic role of the steamship in providing a point of focus for these psychological developments.

Having spent an unsettled night caring for his wife as the caravan made its way across the desert from Medina on the return journey to the shores of the Red Sea, Sadiq records the circumstances of her death the following morning with a series of conventional pious formulas expressed in traditional rhymed prose. For just as God had 'taken her to his mercy' and 'brought her to paradise', so too had He 'treated her well' and 'crowned her with forgiveness'. After explaining how the body was immediately taken back to Medina for burial there in the al-Baqi' cemetery – his wife's greatest desire – Sadiq (1884, 58) recalls how he composed various fragments of verse, 'so great was his grief', among which are the following lines:

May she who is buried in Medina rest in peace,
 Alongside the Prophet, guide and intercessor.
 Oh Ulfat, having performed the *hajj* and visited the Prophet,
 You have advanced to the highest step.
 May I, please God, return and so
 Visit the tomb of my companion.

Of interest here is not the fact that Sadiq should express personal grief in his otherwise factual journal – he may consciously or unconsciously have been echoing the elegiac tradition of classical Arabic literature – but rather the conventional manner in which he chose to express his emotion, his sense that the depth of feelings could only be conveyed in verse and rhymed prose, and the relatively small space that is given over to the passage in the thematic context of the whole work. These traditional textual or literary characteristics all mark Sadiq out as a traditional traveller in a very broad sense: there is no wider attempt to reflect on or undertake a coherent examination of the self (see Kilpatrick 1991, 1–4). But the passage also says a great deal about the way in which Sadiq’s world is constructed at a much deeper level, in particular through the social attitudes he displays to the disposal of his wife’s body and the manner and place of her burial.

Nowhere in this passage do we get a sense that death challenges Sadiq’s construction of a natural order, as his encounter with the corpse at Tur appears to have done, and the location in which the corpse is buried firmly reflects a social ideal orientated around ideas about the origins of Islam and Muslim identity, albeit one that is inflected for a specifically Egyptian pious association with the person of the Prophet. Nowhere is medical competence questioned, as it was in the case of Sadiq’s encounter with quarantine, and nowhere is there any sense that Sadiq has any choice about how or where he disposes of the body, the sort of individual consumption of alternative burial products that might play a role in modern societies.

Sadiq’s rhetoric against death also reflects the individual workings of his own pilgrim psychology: his wife’s passage is cast as a journey to a higher end, which is very much in keeping with the cultural values he increasingly associates with the *hajj* at the latter end of his life. Unfolding within the private spaces of Sadiq’s individual experience, the transformation undergone by his wife is naturalised and mythologized. She comes to embody a very different set of values to those associated with the corpse at Tur, as her passage through the natural world and her final transformation take place apparently unaffected by the realities of historical circumstance. For Sadiq, who had oscillated between myth and history at an earlier stage in his life, this ability to set his experience outside of the present and to construct a place for himself in the timeless order his tradition provided was to become the central theme in his travel writing

as he reconstructed his many journeys towards his own natural end some 17 years after this journey.

CONCLUSION

Viewed against the backdrop of dramatic historical and social change in the 19th century, the ambivalent response of an Egyptian *hajj* official to a mode of transportation synonymous with the arrival of the modern world is of considerable interest. On the one hand, Sadiq displayed a public and conscious enthusiasm for steamship travel and carefully enunciated the arguments for abandoning the costs and hardships associated with maintenance of the traditions of the overland caravan before undertaking this journey. On the other hand, behind the overt enthusiasm demonstrated for 'progress' in the public record of his proposal, *Star of the Hajj* conceals private doubts at the consequences of that change, consequences that Sadiq himself experienced. This discrepancy between presentation and perception of the developments in *hajj* transportation, and the way these perceptions are associated with the contrasting experience of the deaths he witnessed on the journey, give Sadiq's work a literary significance that goes beyond the admittedly important historical detail it contains. In raising wider questions about the symbolic significance of the new technology on the Muslim psyche, *Star of the Hajj* reveals how the impact of modernity on a traditional journey comes to be represented and negotiated in passages that are apparently marginal to the main thrust of the pilgrim traveller's tale.

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From *Incidents of Travel in Greece,
Turkey, Russia and Poland*
by John Lloyd Stephens

(New York 1838, vol. 1, pp. 208–09)

Now the Mediterranean is admirably suited to the use of steamboats; indeed, the whole of these inland waters, the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, the Archipelago, the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, the Bosphorus, and the Black Sea, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Sea of Azoff, offer every facility that can be desired for steam navigation; and when we consider that the most interesting cities in the world are on the shores of these waters, I cannot but believe that in a very few years they will be, to a certain extent, covered with steamboats. At all events I have no doubt that in two or three years you will be able to go from Paris to Constantinople in fifteen or twenty days; and when that time comes, it will throw such numbers of Europeans into the East as will have a sensible effect upon the manners and customs of the people. These eastern countries will be invaded by all classes of people, travellers, merchants, and mechanics, gentlemen of elegant leisure, and blacksmiths, shoemakers, tinkers, and tailors, nay even mantua-makers, milliners and bandboxes, the last being an incident to civilized life as yet unknown in Turkey. Indeed, wonderful as the effect of steamboats have been under our own eyes, we are yet to see them far more wonderful in bringing into close alliance, commercial and social, people from distant countries, of different languages and habits; in removing national prejudices, and in breaking down the great characteristic distinctions of nations. Nous verrons, twenty years hence, what steamboats will have done in this part of the world!

Modern Pilgrims in Egypt and the Holy Land: A Case Study

Hana Navrátilová

The pilgrimage is an indispensable act of devotion in a number of religions. Christianity has a well-developed tradition of pilgrimages, and the tradition is lively and thriving today; indeed, the current holder of the Holy See is presently urging the undertaking of more devout and intense pilgrim travels, extolling 'the spiritual value of going on pilgrimages' (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/Europe/6986448.stm>). Pilgrims and pilgrimages have also been given due attention from historians, theologians and others, among them anthropologists. The journey, an indispensable part of most pilgrimages, was interpreted as a sort of rite of passage by V. W. Turner and E. Turner (1978), and this interpretation has been discussed and contradicted (Eade and Sallnow 1991, Eade and Coleman 2004). Pilgrim travellers develop their own 'arts of travel' (Adler 1989), depending on the period and conditions, and 'the implications of the scale of such movements of people, economically and ideologically, are very considerable' (Stopford 1994, 59).

Any pilgrimage consists of more than its devotional aspect, and pilgrims have traditionally been meant to experience a physical as well as spiritual voyage, one that could and should enhance their devotional zeal. Any pilgrimage involved travel and was thus subject to the necessary preparations and travel conditions of the time. Businesses were developed that thrived on pilgrimages (Stopford 1994), and more than one traveller noted that sordid commercial interests could have spoiled the feeling of spiritual involvement and the miraculous presence of the divine. In the second half of the 19th century, increasing recreational tourism established its own rules of travel (Schudson 1979; Adler 1989), influencing the practice of modern pilgrimage.

This paper deals with a select group of modern European Christian pilgrims who travelled to Egypt and the Holy Land from the 1860s to the early 20th

century. It considers chiefly the Egyptian part of their journeys, which might be seen as of less devotional importance than the Holy Land, though Biblical lenses have been used to observe both (Storchová 2008). These model pilgrims were Catholic priests from the Hapsburg empire. We call them pilgrims, but it will be seen that their motives for travelling were complex – devotion was not their only reason for boarding ships and trains to see distant lands. All of them were, nevertheless, connected to Church organisations, travelled with other clergymen, and of course visited the holy sites.

The organisation and content of their travels was influenced by the Austrian presence in the visited region. Austria-Hungary (the official dual monarchy was established in 1867) was a protector of the Roman Catholic faith in Egypt and the Holy Land (Haider-Wilson 2005), and the Austrian Emperor included in his full title the rank of King of Jerusalem; as such he entered the city on his Oriental tour in 1869 (Fischer 2006). The countries visited by imperial as well as ordinary pilgrims hosted communities of Austrian citizens (*ibid.*). The Austro-Hungarian community in Egypt, for example, was as multinational as its ‘mother empire’ and as prosperous (Agstner 1994; Navrátilová 2003, 54–63). The community had its own hospital and was prominent among other foreign groups.

THE TRAVELLING PRIESTS

Three individuals will be observed here as exemplifying organised pilgrim travel from the empire to Egypt and the Holy Land. We will follow these pilgrim travellers from the 1860s, when Father Josef Chmelíček (1823–91) set out on his journey, through the 1870s, when Father Anton Dolák decided to visit the eastern Mediterranean, to the early 1900s, when Father Josef Sedláček wrote a travel guide for other devout travellers, based on his own journey. Their routes were almost the same, with slight variations. Of the three, Father Dolák, though following a recognised pilgrim route, provided the most unusual travelogue.

The first two men started from Vienna, continued by train to Trieste, and then travelled by ship (the precise route of which may have varied) to Alexandria, calling at ports in Italy and/or Greece. Father Chmelíček did not go beyond Alexandria, whereas Father Dolák visited Cairo and the area of the Suez Canal. Father Sedláček chose a different itinerary, travelling through the Balkans and Constantinople to Jerusalem, then to Egypt, Cairo, Upper Egypt, and back home via Alexandria.

Josef Chmelíček

The earliest traveller, Father Chmelíček, published his pilgrimage as *Cesta do*

svaté země, již vykonal a sepsal Josef Chmelíček (*Voyage to the Holy Land, Undertaken and Described by Josef Chmelíček*). His travelogue relates not only the incidents of his own journey, but is also full of digressions devoted to theological questions. When he met a physician on his ship, for example, they had a dispute about the character of Biblical texts, the physician opining that the cruelty of Biblical narration could destroy one's peace of mind – a view that provoked Chmelíček to ironic comment (Chmelíček 1865–67, 13).

Chmelíček's travel started in the autumn of 1861, and the sea was rough when he left Trieste on the Austrian Lloyd steamer *Pluto*. His description of seasickness is dramatic, and his relief is evident as he stepped onto the pier at Alexandria. His travelogue then turns into a historical guidebook through the past and present of Alexandria. Although few personal details about Father Chmelíček survive, he was obviously widely read, his historical and theological scholarship corresponding to his priestly status.

Chmelíček spent only a couple of days in Alexandria before boarding a ship bound for the Holy Land, thus limiting his sightseeing. Nevertheless, his description of Alexandria has one *leitmotiv* – the glorious past versus the ignoble present. This is a favourite topos of pilgrim travellers, and occasionally led to a feeling of embarrassment in some travellers towards the contemporary inhabitants of Egypt and elsewhere (Gregory 1995). Central European travellers harp on this theme as often as their contemporaries from other parts of Europe (Macková and Navrátilová et al. forthcoming).

Chmelíček's paragraphs demonstrating his learning alternate with everyday details, such as his description of the fiacre and its supposedly greedy driver, and the donkey as a means of transport. The erudite priest has a quote from the Psalms always at hand, even to the condition of donkeys (Psalm 103; Chmelíček 1865–67, 44); indeed, he devoted more words to these quotes than he did to the monuments of Alexandria. His comments on various incidents – the heat of his hotel and the inconvenient co-inhabitants (numerous mosquitoes) of his room, for example – were aptly eked out with references to Moses and the fourth plague of Egypt. Another lively description is devoted to some Czech musicians he met in Alexandria, perhaps the predecessors of later Czech bands that played in Egyptian hotels well into the 20th century. A Czech song about the bitter lot of expatriates far away from their country is quoted this time instead of a Biblical reference. While in the city he stayed in contact with the Franciscan community – he had already been in touch with the head of the little parish of Alexandrian Catholics, a Franciscan father from Tyrolia.

Chmelíček's book includes some brief comments on Egyptian Christians (the ritual of the Coptic mass) and 'Cleopatra's needle'. He does not quote his sources, but it is likely that the Coptic mass was translated for him by some of his Alexandrian priestly colleagues. Cleopatra is described mercilessly as a wanton,

cruel, lewd, libidinous and lecherous woman (the terms are Chmelíček's own). Chmelíček relates a story about pearls being drunk during festive meals, and rages about the concupiscent life of the queen. In contrast to his constant quotes from the Bible, Chmelíček does not make any reference to Classical authors, though he must have read at least some of them if he knew the details of Cleopatra's life that come from those sources.

Chmelíček concludes the Egyptian phase of his trip by commenting on the beneficent waters of the Nile and on the greediness of the 'Turks'. He says comparatively little about the inhabitants of the country, and he even spares their creed any comment. His irony and disdain for Christians of another denomination are fully revealed, however, when he meets Greek orthodox priests on the ship taking him from Alexandria to Jaffa. His contempt may be connected to a feeling that these 'almost-like-us' people are, as heretics, even less tolerable than the Islamic 'others'.

The sail to Jaffa was, again, not peaceful, and Chmelíček commented on the port of Jaffa with a quote from the Czech Renaissance traveller Christoph Harant (Chmelíček 1865–67, 75; on Harant see Storchová 2005; for a slightly antiquated French translation of his travelogue, see Brejnik and Brejnik 1972). The quote relates to rough seas near the port of Jaffa, where both 16th- and 19th-century travellers occasionally suffered from a very complicated disembarkation, as some ships were unable to dock and had to discharge passengers into sloops or dinghies, which carried them into port amid looming waves. Chmelíček's quoting of Harant shows us that the priest's travel preparations included the reading of a Czech travelogue almost 300 years old.

As a pilgrim, Father Chmelíček travelled within the community and social contacts of the Catholic clergy, and his book is saturated with his ecclesiastical readings – there is hardly a situation described that is not peppered with a reference to the lives of saints or Church fathers, or directly to the Bible. In Egypt he did not tread directly in the tracks of the Holy Family, so apart from his religious commentaries we do not see any special demonstration of his devotion. His religious readings act as a sort of spyglass, training his eye safely on his familiar world and alienating him from reality. His travels seem not to have created any liminal experience for him, and in many ways he remained in his own *milieu* of ecclesiastical hierarchies and institutions, though in an exotic setting.

Anton Dolák

Less than a decade later, Father Anton Dolák set out for Egypt in 1870. His *Reise ins heilige Land im Jahre 1870* was published two years after the completion of the journey. The Egyptian part of his travels interests us here.

Anton Dolák began his journey eagerly, but he tries to convince us in the preface to his book that he was not so eager to write his travelogue. Apart from practical reasons, he says, he felt there were enough books devoted to Oriental travel. He was familiar with the travels of Josef Chmelíček, who besides Egypt and the Holy Land also described Spain and other countries in two books. Eventually however, encouraged by curious members of his parish, Dolák yielded.

His journey, which was a realisation of an old dream for which he had to economize and save money, started in Vienna and was organised by the Franciscan fathers there. The Franciscan order was in a very good position for the task, having a network of convents and parishes in Egypt and the Holy Land (Wrba 1996; Fischer 2006); it had already acted for Father Chmelíček. The group consisted of travellers of various professions, all male, but not all clergymen. There were people of social stature comparable to Dolák, but others included farmers and accountants. Parts of the journey could be tailored according to one's means, for example whether one could afford a second- or third-class train seat or ship passage.

The group set sail from Trieste, and the sea voyage was both a marvel and an agony. This is a common theme in many Hapsburg-period travelogues produced in Czech or German, when sea travel was evidently in its way no less exotic than the Oriental world waiting at the end of the journey (Macková and Navrátilová et al., forthcoming). Dolák's reader is spared no detail, both on the affluent *table d'hôte* and the episodes of seasickness. Father Dolák is keen to assure us that seasickness was not a major problem for him; indeed, he preferred to stay on deck during a storm. He mastered the sailorly way of walking, and he preposterously claimed that once on firm ground again it took some time to accustom himself to the usual landlubber's stride (Dolák 1872, 27).

Dolák's travelogue is full of vivid details that have no obvious relationship to any particular piece of information he is imparting, and which might have been read beforehand (e.g. in Chmelíček's book). He has, of course, general preconceptions, such as the nature of the Orient's romantic originality, which is not to be discarded lightly in favour of European civilisation (cf. Sharafuddin 1997):

The alleys are mostly incredibly dirty, full of dust and excrement. Nonetheless, there are some nice streets. The Corso, especially, is well constructed, much in the manner of the best boulevards in Europe. One has to notice that European civilisation asserts itself over all, especially in Alexandria, and perhaps rather unfortunately suppresses the frugal manners of the Orient.

[Die Gassen sind überschmutzig, deshalb entweder viel Koth und Staub; doch gibt es auch einige schöne Gassen; besonders der Korso ist schön angelegt, wo man die schönsten Auslagen

im europäischen Stiele findet. Ueberhaupt bemerkt man, daß sich die europäische Civilisation besonders in Alexandrien breit macht und vielleicht leider die orientalischen Sitten und Genügsamkeit verdrängen wird.] (Dolák 1872, 25–26)

Dolák's own viewing of the 'Orient' before him is sometimes contradictory. He longs for the quixotic Orient – indeed, rather atypically, for a 'frugal' Orient without excessive European influence – yet it is a street with European shop windows that he finds most attractive in Alexandria.

Father Dolák had his share of sightseeing in both Alexandria and Cairo, visiting the Pyramids and the places where Holy Family was believed to have dwelt; but often his attention is devoted to incidents of travel – their group rode obliging donkeys to the Pyramids, for example, and even those fellow travellers whose riding abilities were in doubt mastered their stallions at once. They returned to Cairo under the first blows of the dry, hot *khamisin* wind (Dolák 1872, 36; it was 28 March 1870), and Dolák complained of unusually hot March weather.

The priest and his fellow travellers enjoyed themselves in the Cairene markets, though their knowledge of Arabic proved insufficient. Cairo as a model Oriental city deserved full admiration in Dolák's opinion (Dolák 1872, 42):

Cairo is a real Oriental metropolis, in terms of its architecture as well as its lifestyle and manners. However, under the reigning Viceroy [Ismail Pasha], who would like to Europeanise thoroughly, the city has put aside much of its Oriental character. I would naturally not like to appear as too reactionary and conservative, but I must rather pity the Arabs, until now so frugal and innocent, as they are now presented with modern European civilisation, which deserves only the name of utter barbarism.

[Cairo ist eine echt orientalische Stadt in seiner Bauart, als in Sitten und Lebensart – es hat aber unter dem jetztzregierenden Vicekönig viel von seinem Orient. Charakter abgelegt, welcher alles europäisieren will. Aber ohne ein Reactionär sein zu wollen, bedaure ich aufrichtig die bisher unwissenden und genügsamen Araber, wenn sie mit der heutigen europäischen Civilisation beglückt werden, welche mit Recht den Namen Barbarei verdient.]

Here Dolák actually pities the Arabs for being Europeanized too quickly, and he shows (or purports to show) his own disillusion regarding modern Europe.

Dolák must have been well informed on the impatient Europeaniser Ismail Pasha's modernising attempts. One can also presume he augmented his knowledge *en route*, as he was in lively contact with the European, especially Austrian, community in Cairo.

There are innumerable Europeans, especially Germans and Slavic people. These two take each other for fellow-countrymen; this is clear in the German Casino, where both nationalities get along with each other very well. I met a man from

Moravia whose name was Spika; he came from Letovic, near Brünn [modern Brno]. In Cairo he worked as a servant in the Casino. He has taken me to a Bohemian inn, where I met a lot of Czech people who served me beer from Vienna. Indeed, beer – brought to Egypt from Europe – is coming into fashion here.

[Europäer gibt es in Cairo eine Unzahl, besonders Deutsche und Slaven; aber diese betrachten sich alle als Landsleute – was am besten zu sehen im deutschen Casino, wo sich beide Nationalitäten recht gut miteinander vertragen. In diesem Casino traf ich einen Mährer, Namens Spika, aus Letovic bei Brünn, als Casinodienner bedienstet, welcher mich in ein böhmisches Gasthaus führte, wo ich viele Böhmen antraf, die mich mit Wienerbier bedienten. Uiberhaupt scheint das Bier, aus Europa darin gebracht, auch in Aegypten schon geliebt zu werden.] (Dolák 1872, 43)

Dolák's further travels included a thorough sightseeing visit to Ismailia and the Suez Canal, from which the group proceeded to the Holy Land after pondering for a while on a chance of a trip to Sinai – the perspective of a ten days' ride eventually discouraged them (Dolák 1872, 50).

Dolák's travelogue is for the modern reader much more accessible than Chmelíček's, and it is possible that Dolák, being acquainted with Chmelíček's work, was keen to write something different. We know little about Dolák's background, but he must have prepared well – both from a scholarly point of view, using Chmelíček as a guidebook, and financially, for he travelled second class, not third, and he claimed to have saved 700 gulden for his travels, a considerable sum.

Josef Sedláček

The last of our travelling priests is Josef Sedláček, who published a guidebook on the Balkans, Constantinople (Istanbul), the Holy Land and Egypt in 1901. His intentions were clearly stated: he was not writing for amusement or to satisfy curiosity, but rather wrote his *Pouť do posvátných míst Svaté země a Egypta* (*Pilgrimage to the Holy Places in the Holy Land and Egypt*) in order to provide information and to encourage future pilgrims to undertake the journey. 'The Holy Land is our fifth, unwritten, Gospel', he wrote (Sedláček 1902, 6), 'and every Christian soul should thus desire to see its places.' This pilgrimage, even though regular Austrian Lloyd steamships and trains and modern hotels have made contact with the eastern Mediterranean far easier than before, will be a harsh journey, but no one should complain. Sedláček encourages pilgrimage as a means of prayer and an act of penitence.

Sedláček's travelogue, though following a standard itinerary (in Egypt, from Port Said and Suez through Cairo to Upper Egypt and back to Alexandria), is full of digressions. These are often of historical character – he paraphrases and

quotes equally easily the Bible and Classical authors (though not directly, and his sources and reading list thus remain unknown to us). He also informed himself on the customs of the *hajj* and on the behaviour observed when the pilgrim caravan left Cairo. Travel details such as a visit to a British man-of-war at Port Said alternate with these scholarly passages.

CONCLUSION

Pilgrim travellers used the same means of travel and transport as other travellers. Their journeys, though intended to be a test of their devotion, were as easy or as complicated as any contemporary travel, but the pilgrims discussed here had the advantage, as clergymen, of being in contact with the Catholic network in Egypt and the Holy Land, which meant that they were housed and cared for in a very familiar *milieu*. Harsh conditions deterred them from detours to interesting places, as the case of Father Dolák's avoidance of a trip to Sinai proves, in spite of the fact that a pilgrimage was meant to be a physical as well as spiritual journey, on which no hardship should be avoided.

Chmelíček and Dolák related their practical travel preparations (such as savings), which show that they probably used such contemporary guidebooks as Austrian Lloyd's *Aegypten Reisehandbuch für Aegypten und die dem Pascha unterworfenen Länder von Dr. Moritz Busch* (Trieste 1858), a very handy illustrated guidebook that also summarised travel expenses. They prepared in spiritual ways as well as practical ones, and their mastery of the Old and New Testaments is reflected in their books (though all three travelogues discussed here were edited and may have been embellished while being prepared for print).

Their interest in events and sites *en route* alternates between places of worship and devotion and everyday incidents. As regards the Egyptian part of their journeys, the devotional aspect may even be overshadowed by lively and more intense descriptions of fellow travellers, expatriate countrymen – these are an important feature for all three travellers – and events ranging from the unusual appearance of unpopular priests of another Christian denomination to the taste of Austrian beer served in a Cairene pub (Dolák, 1872, 43). Dolák (and in part also Chmelíček) was reporting on a journey that in terms of its itinerary might have been undertaken for other reasons, not just devotional ones. Dolák's description is a report on 'touring', on a pleasure trip (compare Michelson 1977, 391–93). He is enjoying himself, and he behaves like an amused tourist, with all the burden this term carries. His precursor Chmelíček is living another chapter of his priesthood within a foreign world keenly observed and commented on, but his life revolves around his priestly duties and contacts as it would at home. Chmelíček sometimes mars his immediacy with his incessant quotes, while Dolák

is mildly curious and mildly romantic. In his case only the increased frequency of references to the Old and New Testament indicates that we are reading a text written by a clergyman, one intended to be a report on a pilgrimage, not a tour.

The only one of our priests who had a clearly expressed intention of using his text to inspire future pilgrims was Sedláček. In his recommendation of spiritual travel preparations we may hypothesize that he prepared equally well himself. Father Sedláček was the last of the three and therefore the one able to take advantage of the latest modern tourist infrastructure. Nevertheless, he is the most decisive on the theme of pilgrim travels, urging future pilgrims to study of the Gospels and to patiently accept travel accidents as a way of showing repentance and trust in God. At least in words he reclaims the true values of pilgrimage, which are nearly always mixed with more prosaic incidents of travel, as the other two pilgrims illustrate.

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From *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*

in *Pilgrimage: The Sacred Journey*
ed. Ruth Barnes and Crispin Branfoot

(Oxford 2006, p. 104)

The new moon of this month rose on the night of Friday, the 1st of the month of Rabi' al-Awwal [June 24, 1183], when we were at the end of al-Wadah and about three stages from 'Aydhab ... The water of this place is not especially sweet; it is an uncased well, and we found that the sand had fallen into it and covered the water. The camel-masters sought to dig it that they might bring forth water, but failed, so that the caravan remained without it. We marched that night, the night of Saturday the 2nd of the month, and after sunrise we encamped at the waters of al-Khubayb, within sight of 'Aydhab. Here both the caravans and the people of the country take water, which suffices for them all, for the well is large, like a huge cistern.

...

The journey from Jiddah to 'Aydhab is most calamitous for pilgrims, save those few of them whom Great and Glorious God preserves, for the wind takes most of them to anchorages on the desert far to the south of 'Aydhab. There the Bujat, a type of Sudanese living in the mountains, come down to them and hire them their camels, and lead them through a waterless track. Often the greater number of them perish from thirst, and the Bujan seize the money and other things that they have left behind. Not seldom pilgrims will stray on foot through the wayless desert and, being lost, die of thirst. Those who survive and reach 'Aydhab are like men quickened from the shroud. While we were there we saw some who had come

in this manner, and in their ghastly shape and changed form was 'a portent for those who observed carefully' [Qur'an 15:75] ...

The people of 'Aydhab use the pilgrims most wrongfully. They load the *jilab* with them until they sit one on top of the other so that they are like chickens crammed in a coop. To this they are prompted by avarice, wanting the hire. The owner of the craft will exact its full cost from the pilgrims for a single journey, caring not what the sea may do with it after that, saying, 'Ours to produce the ships: the pilgrims' to protect their lives.' This is a common saying amongst them....

Facing Travels, Shaping Worlds: Three 17th-century Mesopotamian Travel Accounts

Bart Ooghe

Early modern travel to the land of ancient Lower Mesopotamia, present-day southern Iraq, has long been primarily understood in relation to the archaeological voyages of the 19th century. Yet for centuries before the first large-scale excavations at Babylon or Ur, Europeans of all nationalities had been visiting this part of the East on personal, economic, political, scholarly or religious errands. Once home, several of these travellers went on to produce highly diversified narratives of their experiences in this foreign land. This paper examines three such accounts, created by travellers who passed through the region between 1663 and 1674. These three cases reveal how differently the reality of travel might be perceived and described. Through the writings of these three messengers we catch a glimpse of how early modern travellers might confront the reality of their voyage and reshape the world through which they moved, in mind and text alike.

LOWER MESOPOTAMIA IN THE 17TH CENTURY

During the period that concerns us here, the lands of the lower Tigris and Euphrates represented the southeastern extremity of the Ottoman Empire and the border zone between this and Persia to the east. The region was officially labelled Irak Arabi, but Europeans more frequently knew it as (Lower) Mesopotamia, Babylonia or Chaldaea. This part of the East had to the 17th-century European mind only very recently moved out of almost total obscurity. Occasional travellers had, of course, visited and written on these parts since at

least the 12th century, but it was only at the close of the 16th century, when the search for overland trade routes to the East Indies brought larger numbers of Europeans to the Ottoman world, that the region began to feature in these travelogues more frequently and in greater detail (Steensgaard 1973, 177–78, 214; Van der Cruysse 2002, 19; Hachicho 1964, 4–5; Carruthers 1929, xiii–xvii; Penrose 1967, 203; Sherman 2005, 18–21). Merchants, scholarly travellers, missionaries, diplomats and inquisitive noblemen all ventured into these lands with increasing frequency after the mid-1500s, while the growing importance of the travelogue as a means of gathering information about the world provided new and fertile grounds for the production of travel narratives and anthologies of travel writing (Hulme and Youngs 2005, 3–4; Sherman 2005, 17–35; for a more detailed examination of early modern travel to this region, see Ooghe 2007a and b).

Thus, the European presence in and writing on Lower Mesopotamia rapidly increased during the late 1500s and early 1600s, creating a certain vague familiarity with the region. The most significant axes of travel were quickly plotted, important cities were highlighted, and even some archaeological sites came to be rudimentarily described. Interest in detailed and factual descriptions of the Middle East further increased over the course of the 17th century (Murphey 1990, 298–299). Nevertheless, the region at large retained its place at the margins of European knowledge. Large parts of it – in particular the region between the rivers – were still unknown, and European presence here remained limited when compared to the considerably more frequented eastern and southeastern Mediterranean. Geographers and mapmakers eagerly made use of information provided by travellers, but the majority of their data still originated from such early sources as Arabic geographies or Classical and biblical texts (e.g. Olfert Dapper's *Description of Asia* (1680), based primarily on pre-1620s descriptions; Manners 2007, 41–42). And while the 17th century witnessed a greater demand for more accurate descriptions of the East 'as it was', understanding of Muslim culture and contact with local populations were still often marked by prejudice and ignorance. Without downplaying the considerable differences in travellers' approaches to the Ottoman Empire, the ineptitude of the Empire, on both a political and socio-cultural level, does form a recurrent theme in much writing of the period (Murphey 1990, 298–301; see, for instance, the negative appraisal of Syrian rule in the 16th century referred to in Steensgaard 1973, 178). Deeper understanding and cultural study would become more general after the middle of the 18th century, but even then prejudice, misunderstanding and self-serving interpretations of reality remained integral to much travel writing – elements that were then further strengthened by colonialism and mercantilism.

In short, mid-17th-century Europe looked at Mesopotamia with a mixture of growing understanding and limited insight, of curiosity and constraints, both

practical and intellectual. It is within such a framework that our three travellers moved: on the one hand, the lands they traversed represented an interesting field of study and a proven thoroughway for trade; on the other, the land had proven at times difficult to access and navigate, people and culture were understood in restricted terms, and large parts of the region had still never been seen by European eyes.

THE MESSENGERS

At first glance, the three men upon which this paper focuses all belong to the same broad category of 'the messenger', as each made use of the overland connection between East and West in order to carry messages of some kind. However, their distinctive missions and personal backgrounds led them to adopt three quite different epistemic stances towards the land, which, in turn, affected the way in which they approached both their own position as traveller-writers and the textual representation of their journeys.

Manuel Godinho

The first of the three messengers to pass through the region was Manuel Godinho, a Jesuit priest travelling to the Portuguese court in 1663. He carried a message from the viceroy of Bombay regarding the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 23 June 1661, by which Bombay had been handed over to the English (Correia-Afonso 1988, 492). It remains unclear whether this task was assigned to him on behalf of the order, or whether he volunteered for the job. The fact is that, aside from his primary role as carrier-of-messages, Godinho also seems to have been personally interested in providing information on the East that might further Portuguese interests here, and in inspecting the overland routes to Europe, which were then little-used by the Portuguese. The latter subject continued to intrigue him after his arrival in Portugal, and after spending several years at court and having left the Jesuit order, Godinho may have returned to Aleppo in order to investigate the potential of the overland route further (*ibid.*, 494–97).

Although the precise nature of Godinho's journey may to a degree remain unknown to us, the voyage itself is well documented thanks to the priest's extensive narrative. In it we see how Godinho's interests, combined with a clearly scholarly background, lead to his adopting what we will call the position of 'informative scholar-traveller'. His reasons for writing the narrative are clearly stated: to describe the land 'more accurately and in greater detail than anyone has achieved so far' (Correia-Afonso 1990, 135). This desire to produce a work that both summarised and expanded current knowledge became moulded into

his text. In it we find personal experiences blended into extensive historical, geographical and ethnographical accounts that are often taken from other authorities.

Barthélemy Carré de Chambon

Six years after Godinho, the French Augustine abbot Barthélemy Carré de Chambon passed through the region under scrutiny. Although, like his Portuguese predecessor, he had a religious background, his position as an oriental traveller differed significantly from that of the letter-carrying priest. Godinho had to some degree been operating on his own accord; Carré, on the contrary, was travelling not merely as a messenger but as an unofficial ambassador and secret agent of the French court. His task was to investigate the present state of the *Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales* and to relay this information to Colbert, minister for finance and commerce under Louis XIV (Van der Cruysse 2000, 25). This mission brought him back and forth through Lower Mesopotamia on several occasions. The trips of 1672 and 1674 are of most interest to us, as on these occasions Carré travelled the routes between Baghdad and the Persian Gulf.

Given his more official mission and, presumably, his more generous finances, Carré's approach to travel was very different from that of Godinho. The abbot adopted the position of the observer, showing little interest in such scholarly exegeses as Godinho had indulged in. We might suppose that this reflects his superiors' limited interest in local history or culture and their greater concern with the contemporary state of the country. As a result, we might understand Carré as the 'informative observer'. As such, he eventually produced what would be one of the most extensive – yet until recently largely unpublished – 17th-century accounts of the regions in the immediate vicinity of his route.

Joannes Leeuwenson

In 1674, the year of Carré's second Mesopotamian journey, the third and perhaps most exceptional of our messengers travelled along the western border of Lower Mesopotamia in a hasty attempt to reach Aleppo. His name was Joannes Leeuwenson, his position that of a Dutch merchant and secretary to the VOC (United East-India Company) carrying letters of war to the Council of Seventeen in Amsterdam. In 1672 and 1673 the French and British had transgressed against the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, and Leeuwenson was appointed to carry home messages regarding these calamities by the fastest possible route: the overland connection that was Mesopotamia. The Dutch were at this time little familiar with this part of the world, as for reasons not entirely clear to us, the VOC had officially prohibited its merchants from making use of the overland

roads without express consent (Leupe 1863, 91–93). A VOC agent was stationed at Basra, however, and the probable use of cuneiform tablets as weights on Dutch trading vessels illustrates that contact with the Mesopotamian region did indeed occur (Evetts 1890; my thanks to Dr Renee Kovacs for this reference); yet little was known officially of the area further inland. Before departing from the Indies, Leeuwenson's superiors therefore urged him to contact local people as much as possible – in particular the Dutch agent at Basra and the couriers that he usually employed to carry messages to and from Aleppo – 'as we only have hear-say information, and no-one of our people, here present, has ever passed by this route' (*'omdat wij alles maer hebben van hooren seggen, en niemant van ons volck, hier bescheijden, dien wegh ooit sijn gereijst'*; Leupe 1863, 99; my translation). Leeuwenson was given the available general information regarding the major road systems and advised to disguise himself as a Turk, 'not richly but poorly, since the overland road is best taken in the guise of a poor man' (*'en weder aennemen Turcx klederen en een Toock op 't hoofd; niet rijck maer slegt, hoedanig den landwegh in schijn van arme luijden beste te passeren is'*; *ibid.*, 97; my translation). He was also warned of French clergymen, then operating both at Basra and at Baghdad, as these would certainly realise that only an important errand could bring a Dutchman into these lands and might attempt to seize him (*ibid.*, 98).

With this particularly unsettling background, Leeuwenson's position is most interesting. On the one hand, he was very much an unknowing traveller, going where none of his people had gone before and – as is clear from his account – having little familiarity with the land or people. Poor understanding, cultural prejudice and general fearfulness are the understandable characteristics of his experience. On the other hand, Joannes appears to have fully realised his unique position in being the first Dutchman in these parts. We can assume this realisation to have played an important part in his decision to keep a journal *en route* as best he could. Thus, we might designate our third traveller as the 'informative traveller-in-times-of-adversity'.

THREE JOURNEYS, THREE EXPERIENCES

Over the short span of 11 years, the messengers performed three very different journeys. In these we see how external factors, which governed the modalities of travel through the land, intermixed with personal inclinations and mission-specific requirements and limitations. The schooled and watchful priest, the political operative and the traveller-in-times-of-adversity: clearly these different positions would influence how each approached the realities of travel.

All three messengers were confronted with the difficulty of crossing Mesopotamia at this particular time in history. After the increase in European

travel to the region in the latter part of the 16th century, the production of new travel accounts began to drop in the mid-17th century until, by the final quarter of the century, virtually no new travelogues were produced that featured (Lower) Mesopotamia (Ooghe 2007a, 75–78; Ooghe 2007b, 240–42). This decline was apparently related to a drop in the number of travellers during this period: Turko-European and Turko-Persian conflicts, the rise of seafaring trade companies and subsequent decline of caravan trade in oriental commodities, the Thirty Years' War (1614–48), the wars between the English and Dutch (1652–65) and clashes in the Persian Gulf may all have played a part in reducing the number of mercantile travellers passing through the Mesopotamian region (Steensgaard 1973, 171–75; Awad 1985, 123–34). In addition, the overland travel routes seem to have been disrupted by social upheaval within the Ottoman Empire over the course of the last three decades of the century. The high taxes levied by the Ottoman rulers in order to pay for wars waged against Europe placed the local population under increased economic stress and robbed the land of potential trade. This led to social unrest, and as tribal populations began raiding trading caravans, the overland road system seems to have become significantly disrupted. Travel accounts suggest that such disorder may already have complicated overland traffic in the 1660s (Correia-Afonso 1990, 134, 168; Eckford-Luard and Hosten 1927, 371; Matthee 2006, 72–78).

The relative instability of the country during this time is mirrored, to varying extents, in the experiences of the three messengers. Godinho and Leeuwenson, who entered the region through the harbour of Basra, faced the problem of not being able to travel from there by caravan directly to Aleppo. Godinho, in fact, explicitly remarked on the disappearance of caravans, a fact that for several years had limited general passage through the land (Correia-Afonso 1990, 134). Armed conflict between Turks and Arabs is implicitly noted by Carré as well, in whose account we find references to troop movements or to destroyed Arab hamlets in the lower Tigris and Euphrates region (Van der Cruysse 2005, 1053–54). In order to understand how the travellers responded to this instability, however, we must turn to the requirements of their respective missions.

For Godinho, and even more so for Leeuwenson, the importance of the messages they were carrying demanded that they reach Europe quickly. This necessity led both men to make use of the quicker, but more dangerous, western desert road as the means of reaching Aleppo, rather than travelling along the Tigris and/or Euphrates to Baghdad and thence to the west. In earlier times, when caravans were still plying between Aleppo and Basra on a regular basis, this overland road would not have been perceived as such an obstacle. It was well travelled, and safety was to a degree provided by numbers. However, without the security of a travelling group, the desert road certainly did not appeal to our Portuguese and Dutch messengers. Godinho's passage on the dangers of the

desert journey can be read in part as a self-aggrandising exaggeration (see below), but the difficulties of the desert road seem nevertheless to have been quite real to them. With the practical difficulty of this journey there now came the potential added danger faced by a lone European traveller on the overland road. This had already led Leeuwenson's superiors to suggest that he adopt local dress and make use of familiar local guides. Godinho also made use of a local guide to cross the desert; his need for speed is most explicit in the decision not to accompany a caravan of the Pasha that was to deliver an Indian elephant as a gift to the Grand Turk, since the pace of this animal would slow down his journey too much (Correia-Afonso 1990, 133).

With the necessity of their mission spurring their horses, both men passed along the border of the western desert and the Euphrates alluvial zone until they reached the holy city of Najaf. At this point, Leeuwenson revealed himself to be in a greater hurry than his Portuguese predecessor. The latter had turned north at Najaf, following the much-crossed road that passed from Hillah to Baghdad; from there he went westward back to the Euphrates and eventually reached Aleppo. Leeuwenson, on the other hand, faced his personal fears and continued along what both he and Godinho indicate as the more dangerous northwestern desert road. Rather than making for Baghdad, the Dutchman moved from Najaf to Kerbela and from there passed through the desert to Hit, where he too turned west to make for Aleppo (Correia-Afonso 1990, 155; Leupe 1863, 114–19).

While speed was thus a prime factor shaping both journeys, additional mission-specific and personal elements also played their part in the final travel choices. Financial means were a first such factor. Leeuwenson explicitly remarked upon the expense of the safer but two-times slower trip upstream on the Tigris and through Baghdad and Mosul, thereby indicating that finances influenced his choice of transportation to a certain degree (Leupe 1863, 108–09). Godinho, on the other hand, could afford to travel by ship and would gladly have travelled by river to Baghdad rather than face the desert trip, had it not been for practical difficulties in rapidly obtaining a ship (Correia-Afonso 1990, 132). In his case, speed seems to have prevailed over safety as far as the journey to Najaf was concerned. The choice made at this city to continue, respectively, to Kerbela and Hit, or to head north to Baghdad, may have been guided by multiple factors as well. I have assumed that Leeuwenson was in a greater hurry than Godinho and therefore chose the more dangerous path. As noted above, however, the Dutchman had been instructed to avoid contact with other Europeans – especially the French – as much as possible. This element may also have played in his mind when he decided not to make for Baghdad. The scholarly curiosity of Godinho, on the other hand, may have served as an additional motivator for him to see Baghdad first-hand; his travelogue subsequently devotes an entire chapter to

the city (Correia-Afonso 1990, Chapter 20). Finally, it is interesting to note that personal comfort also played some part in the final arrangements for the trip, as we see Godinho deciding against the use of a dromedary – the fastest possible way through the desert – because he ‘could not pluck up courage to suffer the discomforts of its gait, which wears down the whole body’ (Correia-Afonso 1990, 143).

Remarkably different was the situation in which Carré found himself. His work as a political operative made the information that he carried less pressing, while his more official background seems to have given him ample financial means to travel at ease. The contrast with the two journeys just described is evident: whereas Godinho and Leeuwenson undertook a speedy, lone desert trip, Carré did his Mesopotamian travel for the most part by ship.

On the voyage of 1672 the abbot left Aleppo on horseback and passed along the borders of the Euphrates to the town of Fallujah, where he crossed the short stretch of desert in order to reach Baghdad. From there he boarded a ship with his servants and sailed down the Tigris, past the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates at Qurnah, and swiftly down the Shatt al-Arab to the port of Basra, whence he continued on to the Persian Gulf and the East Indies.

In itself this choice is not overly remarkable; the easiest, fastest and most-frequented passage from Baghdad to Basra was indeed undertaken by river. However, on his return trip from Basra to Baghdad in 1674, Carré also boarded a ship. As already stated, this upstream journey was far more time-consuming, laborious and expensive than the overland route. It involved tracking the ship against the currents of the Shatt al-Arab, through a brief stretch of the Euphrates, a separate branch of the Tigris named Shatt al-Gharraf, and eventually up the Tigris all the way to Baghdad. As we know from Leeuwenson, this route also meant passing a greater number of toll-points. Clearly the choice to travel upstream was not made by a traveller requiring swift or cost-efficient travel, but by one for whom such matters counted relatively little.

One additional episode is worth remarking upon. While travelling on the river, Carré’s ship was at one point about to be intercepted at a toll-levy. At the instigation of his captain, Carré saw his men positioned on the bow of the ship with guns in sight, a large Turkish flag installed at the back of the barque and himself, in Turkish dress, reclined in the centre of this show of pomp. The tactic gave the outward impression that Carré was an important Turkish official, and allowed him to pass by untroubled and, above all, without having paid the required toll (Van der Cruysse 2005, 1054–55). The episode reveals the strategy of Europeans ‘disguising’ themselves in this land, as we find in Leeuwenson, yet the difference can hardly be more poignant: for Leeuwenson, this is a matter of survival, of ‘blending in’; for Carré, it is a show, an adventurous episode, a deception.

TEXTUALISING THE JOURNEY

The three messengers eventually fulfilled the role of travel writer that would preserve their experiences for the generations that followed, by each producing a textual record of their journey. Godinho and Carré evidently undertook this to a large extent after the journey itself was completed, probably writing out notes made *en route* and – in Godinho’s case – expanding these through secondary study. Of Leeuwenson’s much shorter text we may presume that the final account is a little-altered version of brief notes made during his journey. In these accounts we see how three very different voyages and experiences of the foreign culminated in three distinctly differently textualised Mesopotamias.

For Godinho, who adopted a rather scholarly stance, Mesopotamia was a land of contemporary reality as much as it was a timeless given and an object of study. In addition, the priest intended to produce an account of the land beyond what had been available before. His text blends these perceptions and pursuits in a mixture of personal observation, self-glorification and historical copying.

On the one hand – aside from, of course, numerous comments on the journey itself – we find in his text descriptions that seem largely removed from concrete fact. For instance, when he recounts local custom or on the nature of the Arab he does so in terms of apparently timeless truths: the greedy or hospitable Arab, the presence of robbers throughout the East, or the nature of the land as eternally barren by Divine Will, are but some examples of the highly generalised notions regarding the region (Correia-Afonso 1990, 140–42, 161). On the other hand, the text is strewn with remarks taken from historical chronicles, biblical or Classical texts etc., reinforcing both the studied background of the author and the continued relevance that Europeans of the time placed upon these older descriptions as means of understanding Mesopotamia. Finally, Godinho’s desire to provide new information also glorified his own accomplishment in performing this journey that lay at the heart of the gathering of this information. This we find translated into embellishments of his ‘real’ experiences. Almost novelistic exaggerations occur, for instance, when Godinho relates the dangers of travelling through the region. Of the desert journey we read that ‘everyone said it would be a foolhardy enterprise without any chance whatsoever of success’, as he was sure to be ‘either killed or robbed or badly injured’ (*ibid.*, 133). His own merit is similarly magnified in the statement regarding the absence of caravans: ‘If hundreds of armed men moving together in caravans dare not go that way, how could I do so with only three companions?’ (*ibid.*, 134), a statement followed by the account of this supposedly ‘impossible’ journey.

In short, Godinho perceived Mesopotamia as a land that needed to be described, and his journey as the backbone of such a description, but the adopted viewpoint of historian and partly self-glorifying scholar textualised the region

for a significant part in generalised notions and as a past-in-the-present, where century-old ideas could be as relevant as contemporary experiences. Evidently he succeeded in his objective of creating an important piece of writing, for his text may well be the most famed Oriental travelogue produced in post-17th-century Portugal and is certainly the most extensive Portuguese account of early modern Lower Mesopotamia.

The difference between Godinho's account and that of the political informant Carré is clear. For the Frenchman, Mesopotamia appears to have been much more 'real' than its textualisation in Godinho. Carré's more leisurely mode of transportation gave him greater opportunity to observe this reality and make notes about it, while – as already indicated – his mission may itself have urged him to describe the contemporary state of the country in detail. The resulting narrative is a gem of detail, unique for its time in its descriptions of cities and villages, fluvial systems, people and landscapes. Carré's tales of adventure also read less like the self-glorification of Godinho and more like 'real' anecdotes of calamities met *en route*, and the general European prejudice against the Arab, while present, is somewhat softened by references to trade or peaceful interactions with local herdsmen (Van der Cruysse 2005, 1053).

Carré also had little interest in historical issues. His text is almost devoid of Godinho's extensive copying, and the abbot almost 'missed' such conspicuous remains of antiquity as the arch of Ctesiphon; he also mistook the mosque of Khazimain, north of Baghdad, for the tomb of Ali, which lies at Najaf (Van der Cruysse 2005, 1059–61, 1065). The narrative was clearly conceived as a detailed depiction of the contemporary state of the country meant only for the eyes of his superiors, one that was not intended to be expanded beyond the abbot's personal experiences. Its 'secret' nature seems indicated by the fact that, with the exception of a small-scale and reduced 17th-century edition, the account remained unpublished until 2005 (Van der Cruysse 2005, 9–10).

Finally, the position of Leeuwenson as the unknowing traveller reads all too clearly from his brief and itinerary-like text. Lacking the information available to Godinho and the financial means of Carré, Leeuwenson moved through what to him was a largely unknown and potentially dangerous land; his text reflects this general fear of the unfamiliar and prejudice against the local people most poignantly of the three accounts. The inhabitants of both Najaf and Kerbela, for instance, are described as 'thieves and robbers'; those of Hit are 'traitors' as well (Leupe 1863, 113–14, 119). Fear of falling into enemy hands is paramount throughout the text. Yet in spite of these real or imagined adversities, Leeuwenson must also have realised the potential importance of describing these lands to his countrymen. Against all practical restraints he therefore managed to produce a sketchy travelogue, which reads more as a diary than the extensive first-person narrative produced by the other messengers. It provides some

general information concerning the journey, lists the main places through which the Dutchman passed, and some general observations made *en route*. For Leeuwenson, this was a land of unknown dangers, poorly understood yet necessarily textualised. Unfortunately for him, however, his efforts appear to have been largely in vain. His account may very well be the only Dutch travelogue dealing with this particular region; the archival study of Lindeman, Scherf and Dekker published in 1993 and 1994, as well as my own research, has not revealed any others. Nevertheless, the text seems to have hardly been known even in the Dutch-speaking regions, and Leupe's edition of the archival manuscript in 1863 appears to have been the first and last study of this seemingly forgotten work.

CONCLUSION

The act of travel and travel writing is, and has always been, located on the borders between external and internal realities. Each traveller-writer perceives the world through which he moves from a perspective shaped both by his own background and by the external reality that he confronts. By writing down these experiences, he creates from his perceptions a unique textual representation of these mixed realities. This paper has shown how differently travel may be conducted and travel writing shaped even within the relatively short span of 11 years and regarding an apparently specific type of traveller and region. Faced with similar external realities and a common task of carrying messages, each of the three men presented here adopted a specific stance towards the region traversed, made distinct travel choices, and perceived Lower Mesopotamia, as well as himself as traveller and writer, in a different light. Learned, observant or fearful in his interactions with the land, rushed or relaxed in his passing through, scholarly, down-to-earth or little refined in his representation of the experience, the three messengers above all mark the singular and highly diverse ways in which we interact with the world that surrounds us. Evidently this was the case in the early modern period much as it is today, and it is the prime task of any student of travel writing to acknowledge this diversity, both as tribute to the people behind these texts and as a guard against an overly rapid and linear approach to this fascinating form of writing.

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*From A Journey From Aleppo
to Jerusalem at Easter AD 1697*
by Henry Maundrell

(Beirut 1963, p. 2)

There being several gentlemen of our nation determined for a visit to the Holy Land at the approaching Easter, I resolved, tho' but newly come to Aleppo, to make one in the same design: considering that it was my purpose to undertake this pilgrimage some time or other, before my return to England, so I could never do it, either with less prejudice to my cure, or with greater pleasure to myself, than at this juncture; having so large a part of my congregation abroad at the same time, and in my company.

Pursuant to this resolution, we set out from Aleppo Friday, Feb. 25, 1696, at three in the afternoon, intending to make only a short step that evening, in order to prove how well we were provided with necessaries for our journey.

...

It must here be noted, that, in travelling this country, a man does not meet with a market-town and inns every night, as in England: the best reception you can find here, is either under your own tent, if the season permit; or else in certain public lodgements founded in charity for the use of travellers. These are called by the Turks, *kanes*; and are seated sometimes in the towns and villages; sometimes at convenient distances upon the open road.

From Baghdad to Constantinople on Horseback: A Journey by Claudius and Mary Rich, October–December 1813

Margaret Oliphant

Claudius James Rich (1786–1821; fig. 1), diplomat, collector and amateur archaeologist, was the British Resident in Baghdad from 1808 to 1821. During that period he acquired a collection of coins, manuscripts and antiquities, which after his early death was sold by his widow to the British Museum; the Oriental manuscripts are now in the British Library. Although Rich's most tangible legacy today is the collection of antiquities that formed the nucleus of the British Museum's West Asiatic collection, initially it was his writings that stirred interest in ancient Mesopotamia. He kept journals and diaries and planned a history of Babylon, but the only publications to appear in his lifetime were his *Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon* (1815) and *Second Memoir on Babylon* (1818). Among others, Byron must certainly have read these volumes, or at any rate have been aware of them, for he wrote in the fifth Canto of his satire *Don Juan* (Canto V, 62):

Because they can't find out the very spot
Of that same Babel, or because they won't
(Though Claudius Rich, Esquire, some bricks has got,
And written lately two memoirs upon't)...

In 1836, some years after Rich's death, his widow Mary edited and published two volumes of his account of a journey to Kurdistan and Nineveh. This was read by the French Orientalist Julius Mohl, who then instigated the appointment of Emile Botta as France's Agent in Mosul, part of whose brief was to carry out excavations in the area. Botta undertook the first large-scale excavations in the Near East (1843–45) and discovered Khorsabad, capital of the Assyrian king Sargon. Austin Henry Layard, who carried out the first major excavations at Nimrud (1845–51), was also inspired by these volumes, as well as by Rich's



Fig. 1. R. A. Philips: Claudius James Rich. Oil on canvas. Painted after his death from a miniature owned by Mary Rich. British Library, Oriental Department. © British Library Board. All rights reserved (F886).

antiquities in the British Museum, of which he wrote, ‘a case scarcely three feet square enclosed all that remained, not only of the great city of Nineveh, but of Babylon itself’ (Layard 1849, xv).

CLAUDIUS AND MARY RICH

When, in May 1808, Rich rode into Baghdad at the head of a mounted sepoy guard to take up his appointment at the Court of the Pasha of that city, he and his bride of four months, who followed him in a mule-borne palankeen with a bodyguard of Armenian servants, had just arrived by boat from Basra; they had been travelling for some three months since sailing from Bombay.

Britain’s new representative to this virtually autonomous province on the southeastern flank of the Ottoman Empire was only 22 years old but already well travelled. Four years earlier, Rich had been appointed a Writer to the Bombay Establishment of the East India Company. A childhood prodigy, he had begun the study of Oriental languages as a boy in Bristol, acquiring a good knowledge of Turkish, Arabic and Persian, as well as Syriac and Hebrew – in addition to Latin, Greek, French and Italian. Following his appointment he set sail from

Plymouth, bound for Malta, whence he was to accompany Britain's consul, Mr Locke, to Egypt. But nothing went as planned, for he was shipwrecked off the Spanish coast, made his way to Naples – where he improved his Italian and mastered the guitar – and arrived in Malta in time to attend Locke's deathbed. The next three years were spent travelling and perfecting his Turkish and Arabic in Turkey, the Levant, Syria and Egypt. In September 1807 he finally reached Bombay, having sailed there from Basra after taking the route through Mardin and Mosul to Baghdad. Four months later he married Mary, the daughter of his host, Sir James Mackintosh, Recorder of Bombay, and retraced his journey to Baghdad.

Although her life had been less adventurous than that of her husband, Mary too had some experience of travel. The day after Claudius's departure from Plymouth, she had embarked on a three-and-a-half-month voyage to India, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, with her father, sisters and stepmother. For the somewhat prolix Sir James, who had little money and several daughters who would need husbands, and who could describe his eldest as being 'of homely exterior', the marriage was clearly an excellent match. Thus he wrote to one of his friends (Mackintosh 1835, vol. I, 367),

He has no fortune, nor had he then even an appointment; but ... I willingly consented to his marriage with my eldest daughter, in whom he had the sagacity to discover, and the virtue to value, the plain sense, modesty, purity and good nature, which will, I hope, make her a source of happiness to him during his life.

Actually, Mary appears to have been far more entertaining than all of this would suggest, and it is largely thanks to her delightful and spontaneous letters to her sisters that the journey in late 1813 from Baghdad to Constantinople is brought to life. This is not to say that the journal kept by Claudius is not full of interesting facts, and certainly one learns much – for instance, about the country through which they passed, the distances traversed, the landmarks, the soil, crops, climate, population size of towns, villages and countryside, occupations, tribes, religions, history and politics. In fairness to Claudius, he himself recognised that his account of the two-and-a-half months spent travelling was a less than riveting read. To his brother-in-law, Erskine Mackintosh, he wrote:

I kept a journal but it is neither an amusing nor interesting narrative as I had not the spirits to be descriptive, I thought it was at least my duty to be useful, and I resolved to form an itinerary which should be of value in a geographical point of view. I accordingly diligently employed my compass and watch while on the road, and minutely noted down all my observations when I came in at night. Having an eye practised in these things, I believe I have rectified many errors of position and

My constitution having ever since the intense heats of last year given very manifest and alarming symptoms of decay, I applied for leave of absence intending to try what change of air and scene, with constant regular exercise would do towards fitting me for bearing the dreadful climate of Bagdad for a few years longer... (RP 80761 15/10/1813)

On Friday, 15 October, they left Baghdad in a barouche, with the intention of making a stage of two days in one before transferring to horses. But at the first stage, about 42 miles from Baghdad, the pole of the carriage snapped, and so they mounted up. A travelling party had already been sent ahead, consisting of a Tatar, his assistant or *yamak*, and their servant; Rich himself had his *maitre d'hotel*, who acted as cook, and two hussars, one as valet and the other as groom, 'each armed with a carbine, brace of pistols and sabre', as was Rich. They rode post horses,

of which we used 12, our whole baggage including the kitchen equipage occupying only 4 of them and I had my own pony besides. We were stout enough to bid defiance to any ordinary danger, and for extraordinary occurrences we were provided with firmans and letters of recommendation sufficient to procure all kinds of safeguards and attention. (*ibid.*)

In a letter to his father-in-law when the latter was thinking about returning to England from India via Baghdad, Rich outlined the various options open to him, along with methods and costs. He explains how he would reach Baghdad and then, having dealt with the route via Aleppo, outlines the one through Asia Minor to Constantinople, which he and Mary were now taking (Alexander 1928, 80–81):

This journey may be performed with ease in thirty days. You must ride all the way, but there are regular established post-houses at convenient distances, at which you refresh, sleep, and change horses. I would send a Tatar and an interpreter with you. They would be entirely at your service, make all your arrangements, and take all trouble and difficulties off your hands. The expense of the journey is about 1500 Rs. The danger is nil, except at a point between Mosul and Mardin, but the Pasha of Mosul is my friend, and will grant you a sufficient escort to carry you past the danger place.

The choice of roads depends greatly upon your time, the season etc. ... About baggage, you should manage to bring the least possible quantity. Heavy baggage is extremely inconvenient and expensive. Twenty pounds more or less is an object. Pack your things in light snug portmanteaus, and not in boxes or heavy trunks...

In the journal, too, he noted how important it was to travel lightly:

I must observe that experience has convinced me of the inconveniences attendant on a person's too encumbering himself with superfluous baggage and servants in travelling through any part of the East. Luxuries must in any case be dispensed with, and the additional comfort procured by any increase of establishment must necessarily be so very inconsiderable as not to counterbalance the trouble and risk. I have indeed always found real comfort in travelling to consist in having nothing which can either attract attention (which in the East is synonymous with avarice) or give one a moments care or thought. (RP 80761 15/10/1813)

Or, as Mary wrote to her sister before setting out, 'we mean to travel as expeditiously as possible' (RP 80760 12/10/1813).

In the same letter Mary added that she intended travelling in disguise as a Tatar. It is interesting to note that in Claudius's journal the reason given is that of 'greater convenience and disguise', while according to Mary herself,

My reason for adopting a man's dress is the *liberty* I by that means gain. In female clothes I must be closely veiled the whole way, and must remain prisoner in the town at every house we entered – which would render the journey a most melancholy one to me, whereas by my present costume I shall parade about where I like, see everything, and be freed from the trouble of our dress. All these are advantages that can only be properly estimated by one who like myself has been shut up in a haram for five years...' (*ibid.*)

The approximate distance of each day's march was somewhere between 25 and 45 miles, and by 24 October they had arrived at Mosul, the site of ancient Nineveh, a journey of 300 miles in ten days on horseback, '... which considering Claudius is an invalid and I a fair lady is pretty good travelling' (RP 80760 27/10/1813 M/Mt). From Mosul she wrote to both of her younger sisters, describing the riding and the general conditions of the journey.

Claudius and I mounted on our own horses, but take notice, no sidesaddle, but a plain hussar one with my cloak and knapsack strapped up behind me. ... This humble mode of travel ... we have adopted as being more convenient, cheaper and more secure. We have neither tents nor tahtrevans [a light litter] and the consequence is that our day's stage is performed quickly. We arrive at our lodgings early and have always sufficient leather to examine anything worth observation and allow our people food time to prepare our dinner – which is eat with better appetite after a short repose. ... It is here necessary to inform you that distances are in this country calculated at the going rate of a caravan, which is reckoned at 3 miles an hour. We of course walk our horses much faster – an average perhaps I may say four miles an hour is our rate of going. (*ibid.*)

Nor did the all-important matter of her skincare go untended, or indeed unmentioned – this was after all a letter from one young lady to two others.

The sun was very powerful for the season, so for protection Mary wrapped her head in a shawl, but 'I have added another shade to my complexion, notwithstanding.'

On those stretches of their route where there was danger they were provided with escorts for safety, a privilege of Rich's official capacity. On leaving Kirkuk, the Janissary Aga brought

the escort which consisted of twelve fusiliers mounted on horses, mules and even jack asses and altogether presenting a most wretched figure, and five *spahis*, a species of Turkish cavalry, each man armed with a spear and sabre. I should imagine eight determined plunderers would quickly have routed these scarecrows, but in these countries it is sufficient to appear numerous to keep off robbers. They are very insignificant in reality, though much noise is made about them, by cowardly merchants and native travellers. (*ibid.*)

Elsewhere too, even though they tried to remain incognito they were given escorts and formally welcomed, as, for instance, at Arbil (Arbela), where they were met by the Governor, who took them himself to the Castle as his guests. On leaving they were provided with guards mounted on good Kurdish horses. Later that day, resting in the shade with their tiffin, Claudius and Mary watched as the horses were swum over the Great Zab River by children, and the baggage carried over on a raft of hurdles laid on skins blown up with air. This ancient method, still in use, is mentioned by Herodotus (I, 194) and seen on Assyrian reliefs from the Palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud, now in the British Museum.

By early November the Riches had left the heat of the plains and reached Mardin, situated in the hills and surrounded by trees and gardens. Here the cooler mountain air helped to restore Claudius's health – the descriptions of his sudden onsets of fever and cold sweats would suggest that he suffered from malaria. Here he enjoyed the congenial company of the Armenian Catholic Archbishop, in whose home they stayed and who gave to Claudius several ancient coins of great rarity (Jenkins 1964, 88–95; RP 80761 3/11/1813). Writing from Mardin, Mary described the journey across the desert from Mosul to Nisibin, the most difficult and dangerous part so far and for which the Pasha had appointed a large guard as escort. 'Altogether we made a very formidable appearance, which is principally requisite in these countries, as all parties are shy of encountering each other, and where they hazard nothing like wise men.' (RP80760 5/11/1813 M/Mt). For 20 hours they travelled through barren desert, before fording the Tigris where the current was so rapid that it could have carried a horse away had it stumbled. Now they were joined by an escort commanded by the local sheikh's brother, and continued on through the barren plain:

We picked up some fragments of a caravan that was lately plundered here, and our Arabs gave chase to some horsemen, of the tribe of Yezeds who inhabit the Singar Mountains and are infesters of this desert. No quarter is ever given them, and had any of our party come up with and taken them, they would instantly have cut off their heads and brought them to us in triumph. Luckily however they escaped and we were spared this barbarous spectacle. (*ibid.*)

Leaving Mardin they were still not free of danger from attack, as the mountains were infested by warring Kurdish tribes; once more they travelled with an escort provided by the local governor on roads that were sometimes narrow, steep and stony. 'We passed a deep ravine, very difficult on account of the masses of black rock. ... After dark we descended another similar bank which is dangerous from being a lurking place for thieves.' (RP 80761 10/11/1813). The route now lay along the banks of the Tigris, on the west bank of which 'the black walls and semi-circular towers of Diarbekir look well on the heights from this valley' (*ibid.*). As at Mardin and Mosul, there were large numbers of Christians of various rites at Diarbekir, and Rich's journal is a mine of fascinating information about the Eastern churches of the region, with references also to ancient manuscripts. Today, only some of their empty churches, in various stages of disrepair, indicate that there was then a large Armenian population in a city now largely Kurdish.

The Riches stayed at Diarbekir for some days while waiting for a Tatar from Constantinople to bring mail and firmans. During that time Claudius gathered details about the copper industry, and after leaving the city they visited the important mines of Argana (Ergani), 40 miles to the north. Three days later they were at Maaden, where silver was mined. Of interest, because it illustrates the way in which gift exchange could smooth or assist the passage of such travellers, here the Pasha 'received me very politely and sent me a stout *European* Gelding 8 years old, 15 high ... I in return gave him a handsome gilt spy-glass' (RP 80761 24/11/1813). Similarly at Malatya, the Pasha presented Claudius with a horse and a brace of silver mounted Albanian pistols; in return, Rich gave the Pasha a rifled carbine and his best pair of Hussar gloves, items that the Pasha had much admired.

As they travelled north and westward through the mountains and uplands of Anatolia, the country was wild and the roads dangerous in places, necessitating a guide. Graves of travellers murdered by brigands, and gallows erected for robbers, sometimes ornamented with corpses, could be seen along the road. Beyond Tokat, where they had enjoyed the warm hospitality of a large and wealthy Armenian Catholic family, they saw snow on the mountaintops as they passed through beautiful scenery approaching Amasya. There it began to snow, and they considered alternative routes, as plague was rife in western Anatolia. But the bad weather made a Black Sea voyage impossible, and so they continued

by land, taking the northerly and shortest route via Osmanjik to Bolu, a distance of 280 miles, which they reached in ten days. On the way they spent one night at a *derbent* or guardhouse (Alexander 1928, 143):

... a comfortable fire was burning. The walls were plastered with mud and straw to prevent the chill blast penetrating through the interstices of the logs. ...In various places ... were seen a mule bridle and bell, a kettle for cooking, two wooden vessels for holding water, some wooden spoons, a pestle and mortar of the same for preparing coffee, and a small pot with two or three cups for cooking and drinking it. Our horses were picketed just below us, and we had ample opportunity for ascertaining them through the gaps in the floor, and through which, when the farrier and surajees lighted a fire to comfort themselves and the cattle, the smoke copiously ascended, converting us into living bacon! The hills were woody and the ground covered with snow, so that it required little imagination to fancy ourselves in a Siberian hut, or in a log-house in the backwoods of America.

After Bolu they made their way through ever worsening snow, sleet and storms to Ismit, where they had planned to take a boat to their final destination. The wind was now far too strong, and so they continued by land, but now accompanied by a dragoman from the Embassy and two Janissaries, who had arrived with invitations for the Riches from the Ambassador. Finally, after a day's riding through a snow storm, extricating themselves from drifts and with snow frozen stiff on their clothes, they arrived on New Year's Eve at the Embassy, being smuggled in by a back entrance so that Mary could change and rest before they presented themselves to the Ambassador and his wife. A few days later, Mary would write all this to her sister, ending: 'As for your humble servant she is in perfect health, and astonishes everyone by her heroic journey of 1500 miles on horseback' (RP 80760 12/1/184 M/Mt).

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From *A Journey from Aleppo
to Basra in 1745*
by William Beawes

in *The Desert Route to India*
ed. Douglas Carruthers

(London 1929, pp. 7–8)

And first, I think whoever by common necessity or curiosity urged a large Tartaravan (or litter) with the improvement of a double ceiling will render his passage easy; the carriage here being the principal consideration, for as to other inconveniences it is supposed that those who undertake to travel in any part of the East are informed that long stages, a slow pace, coarse fare, and a warm sun are to be the common trials of their patience and constitution.

2DLY. Be careful with what Arab you engage for the camels, as choice and recommendation in [this] as much concerns your welfare in the desert as the difference of commanders at sea.

3DLY. To visit the principal Shaik with a small present, as a vest of cloth or the like.

4THLY. Agree with said Shaik, and procure from him in writing what you are to pay [for] each camel for desert dues, whereby disputes are avoided at the journey's end.

5THLY. Concerning water, it is customary for travellers to agree with their conductor for supplying throughout the journey and are [we?] paid for ourselves and two servants one a half camel load, which they reckon six loaders or large skins, and these they oblige themselves to keep replenished as they find water in the desert; and if travellers are careful and don't regard the expense [of] carrying a few more loaders than usual, they may drink what is wholesome

the greatest part of the way, by seeing themselves the said loaders filled where the water is best and strictly in charging their own servants to be watchful of it; which we imprudently trusted to the Arabs and were served accordingly, for notwithstanding the provision we made was extraordinary ... , I question if two skins were ever employed for our particular use, or that we fared a whit the better for such precaution.

6THLY. Concerning the other provisions, a person setting out for Aleppo may procure variety of articles that will endure the journey, but the grand articles are rice, bread, coffee, and country butter, of which a large store should be provided, as all the Arabs that attend the loads expect to partake thereof and indeed deserve it, being always ready and desirous to afford the servants their assistance. Salt-meats are very improper for the desert, as they heat and augment thirst (which without such increase is hard to satisfy); nor does much of any food agree with this journey, but eating little and drinking often of weak sour punch is the diet to preserve health and greatly lessen fatigue; wherefore variety of food is an useless embarrassment, and the best in my opinion that can be carried is fowls, which at night we used to eat with pullo [pilau], or made into broth and dress to eat cold the next day at noon. All fruits that can be preserved any time as also roots are excellent refreshments for the desert.

Pascal Coste and Eugène Flandin: *Voyage en Perse*

Caroline Williams

During 1840–41 the French architect Pascal-Xavier Coste and the artist Eugène Flandin travelled in Persia. Their subsequent publications included accounts of the trip and several grand art folios on the ancient and modern monuments of the country, but it is only recently that their work has received scholarly and popular attention, and then only in France – in 1987 for Coste (Jasmin et al. 1987; Jacobi 1998), and 1995 for Flandin (Grosjean and Grosjean et al. 1995; for the work of both men see André-Salvini et al. 1998; Calmard). In the English-speaking world their Persian adventure has so far been ignored: A. K. S. Lambton ('Persianist unrivalled', according to Waghmar 2008), writing on the Qajars and Muhammad Shah in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Bosworth 1978, 1993), makes no mention of their opus. To my knowledge, the pages that follow are the first descriptive account in English of their Persian journey.

In April 1839, Husein-Khan had arrived in Paris bearing rich presents. He had been sent by Muhammad Shah, the Qajar king of Persia, to seek French military instruction for the Persian army (Coste 1878, vol. 1, 105; Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 5 and 497 (n. 19)). For the French court the Shah's overture was an opportunity to revive the contacts with Persia initiated unsuccessfully earlier in the century by Napoleon, and thus to promote France's own political and economic interests vis-à-vis Russia, which was established in the northeast part of Persia with designs on its southern ports, and in the south and west vis-à-vis Great Britain, which was anxious to protect its position in India (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 496–97 (n. 14)). An embassy was therefore designated, headed by the Comte de Sercey, former Secretary and Chargé d'Affaires in St Petersburg, and including a distinguished entourage of professionals holding mandates to study various aspects of the country and its regional affairs, with an aim to establishing political and commercial relations (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 5 and 489–90 (n. 4)). Among these

were Pascal-Xavier Coste and Eugène Flandin, who had specific instructions from the Académie des Beaux-Arts of the French Institute to document the monuments of Persia's ancient civilizations. Kazimirski-Bibestein, the Arab and Persian philologist, accompanied the party as translator.

Both Coste and Flandin had worked previously in Muslim countries. Coste had spent almost 10 years, from 1817 to 1827, as an engineer and architect for Muhammad Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt. His book *Architecture Arabe ou monuments du Kaire mesurés et dessinés de 1818 à 1825* had been published in 1837 to great praise. The artist Flandin, meanwhile, had documented the French army's 1836 campaign in Algeria. His *La prise de Constantine* was exhibited in the Salon of 1837, and in 1838 King Louis-Philippe bought his *Assaut de Constantine* for the royal palace at Neuilly.

The trip to Persia lasted from 30 October 1839, when the delegation set sail from Toulon, to 4 February 1842, when Coste and Flandin landed once more on French soil; at the start of the journey Coste was 52 years old and Flandin was 30. (Details of Flandin's life vary: 1809, rather than 1803, is most often cited as his birth date.) Three main segments divide these 27 months. The first, the official embassy to the court of Muhammad Shah, started from Trebizond, ended at Isfahan, and lasted six months. In the second stage Coste and Flandin fulfilled their archaeological mission. This period, nine months from June 1840 to March 1841, included a trip north and west to Hamadan-Kirmanshah and Serpol-Zohab, and then another journey south to Fars, the heartland of ancient Persia (fig. 1). Finally, there was the long return trip home, which took almost 11 months: from Isfahan to Tabriz, around Lake Urmiah and across the Zagros Mountains to Baghdad, then on to Beirut and the Mediterranean. The results of the journey were published in 1851 under the inclusive title *Voyage en Perse de M. M. Eugène Flandin, Peintre, et Pascal Coste* in three separate parts: *L'Architecture Ancienne, la sculpture, les inscriptions cunéiformes et pehlevi et les plans topographiques*, four folio volumes of the Achaemenid and Sassanian remains, comprising 250 plates engraved from the original drawings by Coste and Flandin, each accompanied by a descriptive text; Flandin's two-volume account of the trip, *Voyage en Perse*, with a large map; and *Les Vues pittoresques de la Perse moderne*, a grand folio volume of 100 lithographic plates of contemporary views by Flandin. Coste published his own drawings of contemporary Persian sites as *Monuments Modernes du Perse* in 1867.

In his autobiography, *Mémoires d'un Artiste: Notes et Souvenirs de Voyages (1817-1877)*, published when he was 90 and accompanied by 62 lithographed illustrations, Coste devoted a third (340 pages) of the narrative of his active life to the Persian adventure. Eugène Flandin's original account is 1010 pages. The two books follow the same itinerary, but Flandin's is the livelier written, and he supplies background and detail that Coste's later and more concise account

compacts. Flandin's curiosity and observations extend to the whole country: the origins of the Qajar dynasty, the composition of the army, the nature of the Persian character, descriptions of costumes and customs, the condition of each city they pass through, Shi'ism, urban, rural and tribal arrangements, and Persia's relations with Russia and Britain. Both men pride themselves on their unflagging energy and courage, and Flandin, feisty and sometimes arrogant and patronizing towards those who cross him, also derives great pleasure and insight from the company of several French-speaking blood princes, 'embodiments of the grace and politeness of refined Persian aristocrats' (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 435). Several leitmotifs animate both accounts: Russian-British politics vis-à-vis Persia, the deteriorating infrastructure of the country, the hazards and hardships of the trip, relations with the locals, and the excitement of discovery and descriptions of archaeological remains.

THE OFFICIAL EMBASSY: FROM TREBIZOND TO ISFAHAN

The delegation took six weeks by sea to arrive at Trebizond (modern Trabzon, on the Black Sea coast of northeast Turkey), where the land route to Isfahan began. There were 14 in the Ambassador's suite, with 12 servants to wait on them and 130 horses to carry the baggage and presents for the Shah of Persia, in all a caravan of about 200 (Coste 1878, 129). On 15 December 1839 the group imprudently started out across the Pontic Mountains, along 'the oldest caravan route in the world' (Weeks 1896) but one that few foreigners had traversed. Both Coste and Flandin expatiate on the wintry perils of this trek, the stretch from Trebizond to Bayazid being especially bad. 'We began the trip in a pelting rain along a narrow defile choked by masses of rocks, skirting sheer cliffs' (Coste 1878, 129). On the second day, 'we paid our first tribute to the precipices. We lost several horses, among which was the one that carried the material for the coffee service and several cases of wine. The chasm devoured it all' (*ibid.*, 130). 'As we ascended into the mountains the rain became colder, whiter and more solid' (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 47). 'The tempests raged constantly', wrote Flandin; 'we found no trace of any route, the snow around us so thoroughly stirred up by the wind that the path closed immediately between horsemen. Our guides themselves did not know where we were' (*ibid.*, 91). 'In snow of five to six feet deep no trail was evident: ... at each step the mules stumbled or sank, their bales ... disappearing into the snow. They had to be recovered, reloaded, only to have it happen a little further on.' (*ibid.*, 98) 'At the top of Mount Zighana, one of the highest peaks, a glacial wind smote us ... The thermometer registered minus 15°C. The downward path, as seen from the top, appeared perpendicular ... and was more slippery than the surface of a frozen basin' (Coste 1878, 130). To survive

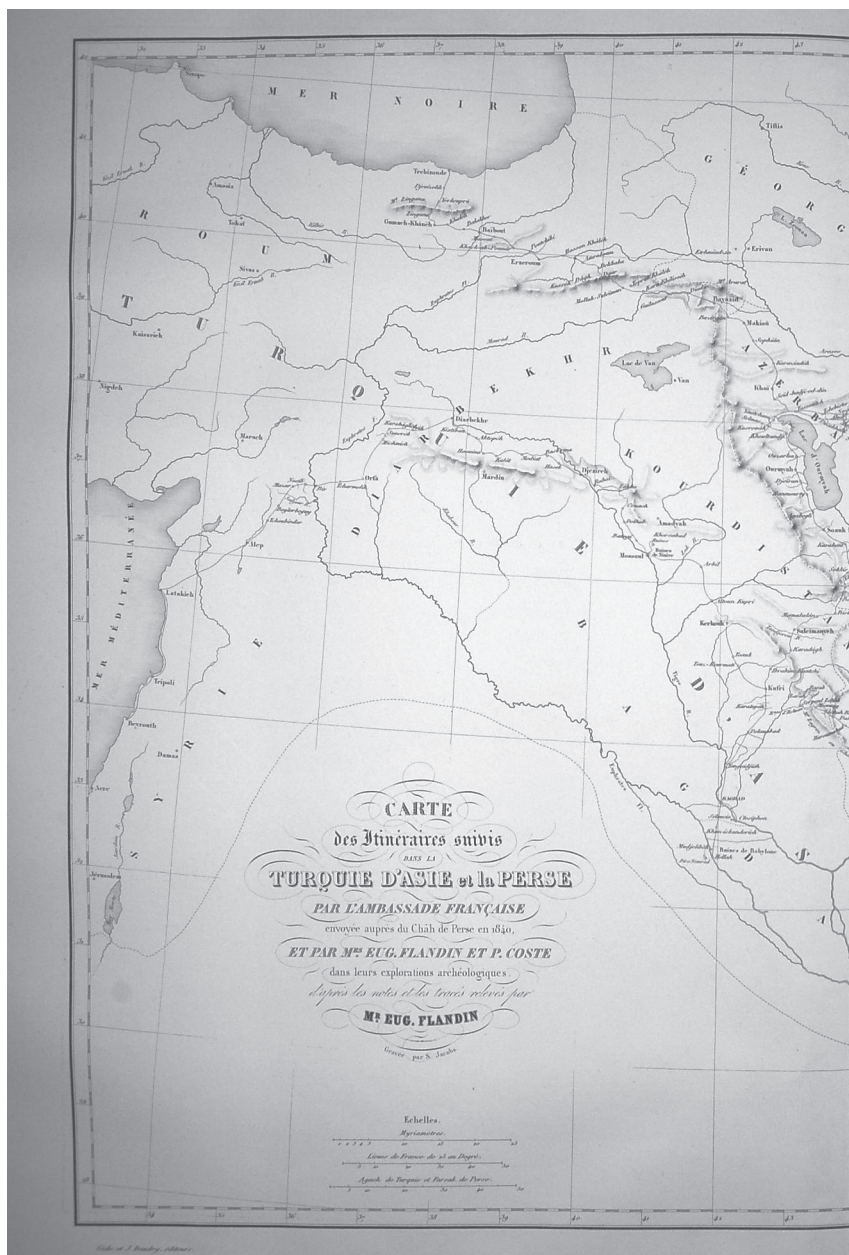
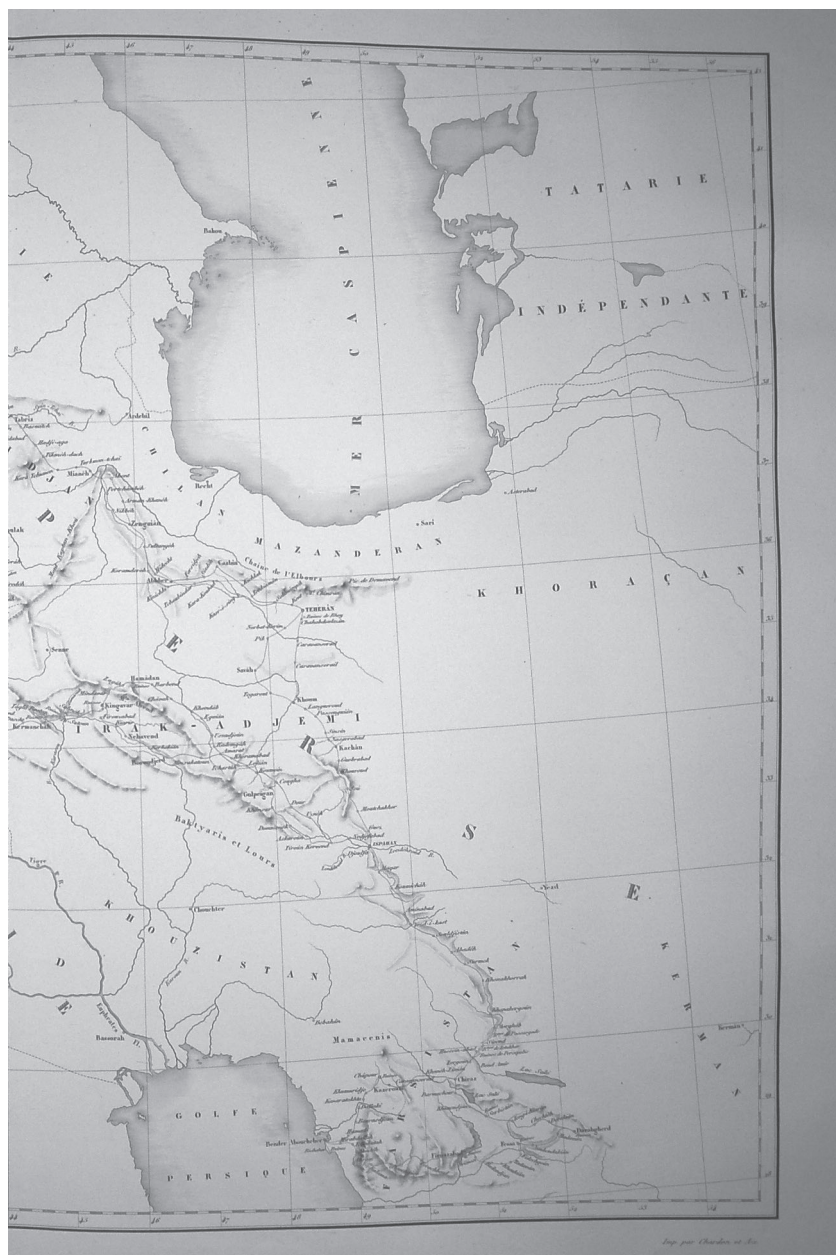


Fig. 1. Eugène Flandin, Carte des Itinéraires suivis dans la Turquie D'Asie et la Perse. Par l'Ambassade Française envoyée auprès du Cháh de Perse en 1840, et par Mrs. Eug. Flandin et P. Coste dan leurs explorations archéologiques. D'après les notes et les tracés relevés



par Mr. Eug. Flandin. Gravée par S. Jacobs (Flandin 1851). Photograph courtesy Bibliothèque Municipale de Marseille.

the wintry blast, Coste wore 'each part of my costume in quintuplicate, and thanks to my slimness I preserved a reasonable figure' (*ibid.*, 133). His breath froze, and 'my mustachios became a fringe of icicles' (*ibid.*, 132). At dinner, Flandin lamented, 'We could hardly hold our silver goblets between our fingers ... our wine froze as it was poured' (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 54).

The men write variously of their night's lodgings along the route (fig. 2). 'We often slept in stables, heated by the strong, warm breath of buffalo, cows and sheep ... [after which] we needed several hours of march to dissipate the strong animal smell' (Coste 1878, 136).

The caravanserai is the oriental Inn. Alas! What an Inn! ... There are no eager waiters, no engaging servants ... no air-hole with reassuring smoke signals to welcome the traveller. A buffet is missing, mattresses are missing. Crumbling corridors introduce the voyager into empty and smoky rooms, where one lies down on the rotting straw to see one's extremities become prey to a thick cloud of devouring insects. (*ibid.*, 226)

Flandin adds: 'The cruel bites of thousands of fleas with elastic legs made sleep impossible' (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 58).

On 11 January 1840, just after Bayazid, they reached the Turkish/Persian border, 'where the Empire of coffee ends, replaced by that of Persian tea' (Coste 1878, 144). The delegation was met by an official reception and a *mihmandar*, the Shah's official facilitator. As honoured guests, they were to be given everything needed 'for our table, our people, even our horses' (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 129). This largesse was provided by the *sursat*, a tribute levied on the populace by the court – either paid voluntarily or extracted by force. As he describes the system, Flandin asks: 'What interest did men have in cultivating the earth and covering it with crops if all of the profits of their labour were extorted and they were obliged to be poor or affect misery to escape the exactions of the great?' (*ibid.*, 202). He notes that the Ambassador would have liked to pay his own way, 'but it was impossible to go against the customs of the land' (*ibid.*, 130). Coste adds (1878, 145) that the Ambassador never failed to distribute a present whose value was greater than that which he was given. En route to Teheran they pass three villages abandoned to escape 'the ransom exacted without pity by aristocrats and soldiers' (*ibid.*, 165), while the fertile land between Sultaniya and Qazvin was uncultivated for the same reason (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 202).

Along the way they were hosted by various dynastic princes. Fath Ali Shah had 70 sons (*ibid.*, 151), and to keep them busy and out of trouble they were appointed as governors of provinces and other areas. The delegation's first taste of Iran was in Tabriz, where on 23 January they met Karaman Mirza, full brother of the Shah and governor of Azerbaijan. The reception began badly. The Comte

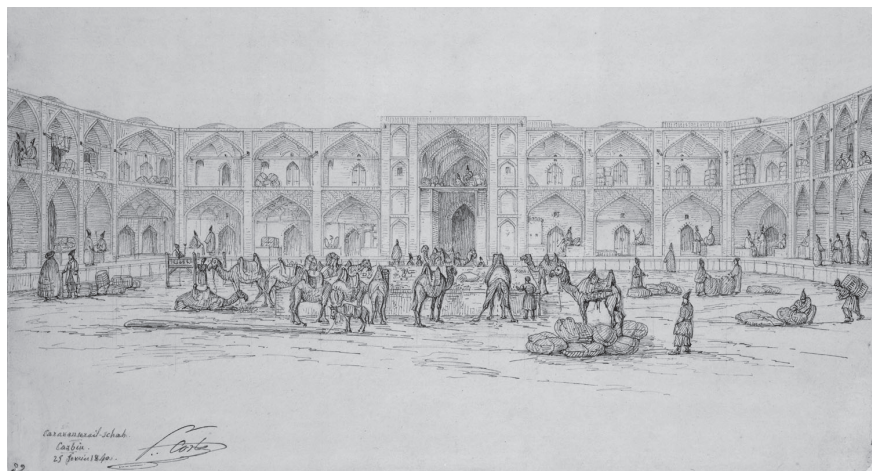


Fig. 2. Pascal-Xavier Coste, Qazvin, le caravanseraïl. Dessin à la plume. Ink on paper. B.M. Marseille, ms 1131. Photograph courtesy Bibliothèque Municipale de Marseille.

de Sercey refused to appear without boots in front of the Prince and insisted on sitting in his presence. Karaman received them with 'remarkable coldness' (*ibid.*) and refused the French gift of a Sèvres tea service because it was incomplete (the rest lying in the chasm) by saying, 'a rose petal sent by a friend had in his eyes the value of the world's revenue, so long as it was not faded.' Flandin remarked, 'This refusal, however couched in Oriental metaphor, was not gracious' (*ibid.*, 153–54). Malek Khassem Mirza, Karaman's uncle, more than made up for his nephew's iciness, however, by including them in a hawking party and inviting an eager and fascinated Flandin to his harem (*ibid.*, 152, 155–57; Coste 1878, 155).

The party arrived in Teheran for Muharram on 1 March 1840 and spent 23 days there. Flandin writes about the royal family and meeting Mme. de la Marinière, the lady responsible for teaching so many of them French. He commented that Persian painting 'excels in detail and delicacy ... but in grand scenes there is no sense of spatial perspective' (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 237–38). At the *Tazia* ceremony of mourning for al-Husayn, 'our *mihmindar* wept warm tears at our side ... The Shah himself, we were told, wet 30 handkerchiefs at this ceremony' (Coste 1878, 174).

Coste tried several times to measure and draw the principal mosque in the towns they traversed, but unsuccessfully. In Tabriz, a great and curious crowd surrounded him and nearly suffocated him as he was drawing the mosque on the market square; his servant, supplied by Prince Karaman, tried to disperse the onlookers, but was instead beset upon. In the melee, Coste lost the 'metric

rule that had served me as both measure and walking stick' (*ibid.*, 158). In Qazvin, 'hardly was I installed in the interior of the building ... than I saw bristling beards and flaming eyes in the sanctuary ... belonging to mullahs who cried out against the profanity' (*ibid.*, 166–67). In Qum, 'the mullahs discharged me very uncivilly' (*ibid.*, 184), and later, in Shiraz, 'they set to stoning me. I jumped on my horse and left at a gallop with the stones whistling around me. I vowed never again to draw mosques' (*ibid.*, 310).

Since the Shah had moved to Isfahan to quell a rebellion, the delegation had to meet him there, a journey from Teheran of 14 days, or 78 and a half hours in the saddle (*ibid.*, 191). As the delegation had moved closer to its destination – through Khoy, Tabriz, Qasvin, Teheran – the welcoming deputations had become larger and grander. On 5 April 1840, surrounded and pressed by the Shah's people and by the population of Isfahan, the Frenchmen entered triumphantly and tumultuously into that beautiful city (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 283). Three days later the whole embassy – in full dress and escorted by an honour guard – were received in the throne room of his palace by the Shahanshah, the King of Kings, the Star of the World. Coste and Flandin were both impressed with the Shah's 'total immobility'. Coste was especially struck by his costume: 'Under his red cloak, trimmed with gold, one could see a robe of violet silk and pantaloons the colour of café au lait ... diamonds, rubies and emeralds sparkled and blazed from all parts of his being' (Coste 1878, 193). Two days later 'the gifts sent by his Majesty the French King – a magnificent clock in gilded bronze, a Sèvres service costing 18,000 francs, Lyon textiles, arms, and several tomes magnificently printed' – were ceremoniously presented. The presents were well received (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 302). 'Muhammad Shah was well skilled in painting ... and he considered each object – the painted porcelain, the engravings – with a real artistic attention' (*ibid.*, vol. 2, 436; Coste 1878, 94).

A few days later, I presented my work on the Arab architecture of Cairo to the Shah ... He examined all the plates and often repeated: Jarchieh! (very good!) ... I seized this occasion to ask him to give me the authority to draw [the monuments of his city]. Instantly, the king gave an order ... for a *farrash* to accompany me anywhere I wanted to go. (Coste 1878, 194)

This permission finally enabled Coste to draw in the mosques of Isfahan, while Flandin painted the Shah's portrait in two sessions (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 303–08).

Coste describes at length the great reception put on by the State ministers for the French embassy in the palace and gardens of Shah Abbas: so lavish – 'a table with 60 settings, bending under the weight of vases of flowers, platters heaped with fruit, beakers in which the golden wine of Shiraz sparkled'; so magical – 'the gardens illuminated with brilliant lights in all the trees'; so

enchancing – dancers, acrobats, gymnasts performing, ‘that I had, in short, the thousand and one nights before me’ (Coste 1878, 197–98).

The state mission at an end, the group disbanded. The official results of the journey were disappointing, for no new treaty was concluded (*ibid.*, 199; Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 362). Coste and Flandin blamed the lack of success on Russian and British policies, united against outside influences with the goal of weakening Persia, to isolate and annihilate her (Coste 1878, 171; Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 363). On 31 May 1840, ‘we said our goodbyes to the delegation. We felt it hard; we had shared the privations of the voyage; now we were alone’ (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 366).

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSION

North and West to Hamadan, Kirmanshah, Serpoul-Zohab

Coste and Flandin remained in Persia to complete their assignment of researching and recording the ancient monuments for the Beaux Arts Academy of the French Institute (Coste 1878, 209). In this endeavor they were not pioneers. They were familiar with the works of previous voyagers: Carsten Niebuhr, Jean Chardin, Jean de Thevenot, Cornelius de Bruyn, Robert Ker Porter, William Ouseley and James Morier (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 9–10). Nevertheless, they were the first professional artists to travel with the directive from the Beaux Arts Academy ‘to measure and draw the country’s remaining antiquities as exactly as possible’ (*ibid.*, 490 (n. 5)).

On 1 June 1840, to escape the summer heat, the two men and their entourage went north into the mountains of Hamadan (ancient Ectabana) and on to Kirmanshah, following an itinerary that replicated the historic trade route from Hamadan-Ectabana to Baghdad-Ctesiphon. The group comprised two official escorts provided by the Shah; Coste and Flandin; a French *valet de chambre*; a Genoese cook (‘a veritable poisoner but invaluable facilitator’ – *ibid.*, 369); two grooms; and three muleteers to care for the 10 mules that carried their baggage, as well as the horses they rode. This was the hottest time of the year – two of the horses died of the heat – and they travelled at night (*ibid.*, 375). Flandin and Coste decided not to have recourse to the *sursat*, or the right to be provided for. Flandin writes that it was in their interest as well as their safety not to insist on this largess, for it was often a source of peril, or at least of very grave disagreement (*ibid.*, 369–70; Coste 1878, 226).

On 10 June they arrived at Hamadan-Ecbatana, the ancient Medean capital and later the summer residence of the Achaemenid kings. They discovered that nothing of the ancient site survived except what had been quarried for the

modern city. However, 3 km southwest, in the gorge of Abbas Abad on a gigantic crag overlooked by Mount Alvend, they found two panels of cuneiform inscriptions (fig. 3). Coste describes the rock as ‘an immobile page of ancient history’ (Coste 1878, 234), and Flandin elaborates:

There was no trail. We had to scale the rocks and after a million obstacles we arrived at the site of the panels ... After the trouble to get there one asks why and for what purpose they are so placed ... only to be seen by wild beasts and birds of prey. (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 391–93)

They left Hamadan amid the perfume of the yellow and white roses that lined the route, and at Kingavar they entered Kurdish territory. Their firman from the Shah had little value among rebellious tribes. There were also tests of will with the muleteers, ‘who are real tyrants’ (*ibid.*, 395). At Bisutun, there was neither village nor amenities, and they pitched their tents near a fountain under some trees (*ibid.*, 420). The historic relief on the cliff here, the only one left by an Achaemenid monarch, shows Darius triumphing over nine rebel princes while Ahura Mazda looks down from above. The victory relief (c. 520 BC), 7 m high and 18 m wide, was dramatically situated 55 m above the age-old highway connecting the highlands of Media with the Mesopotamian plain. The sheer escarpment, while contributing to the relief’s preservation, made access to it a creative challenge (*ibid.*, 421). The image by Coste shows the two artists perched on a narrow, 60-cm wide ledge just below the relief and high above ground level (fig. 4). From this angle ‘the view of the bas relief was very foreshortened’ (Coste 1878, 229). At this stage in their respective accounts, the division of duties between the two men becomes apparent. Coste was responsible for general overviews, elevations, plans and inscriptions, while Flandin drew designs and details of sculpture, grand reliefs of tombs and picturesque views.

Some 24 km southwest of Bisutun lay Kirmanshah. ‘What shall I say of Kirmanshah? The ruins which dishonour all Persian cities, ruins of all ages, are plentiful’, writes Coste (*ibid.*, 241). To the north are the Sasanian grottoes of Taq-i-Bustan, the most important of the late Sasanian period, attributed to Khusrau II (r. AD 591–628). They settle into the biggest of the grottoes, which served as bedchamber, living room, dining room and study. Flandin (1851, vol. 1, 427) described the living arrangements: ‘We pitched our tent in the middle of it, and thanks to the shelter it provided and the carpets we had with us, we were nicely installed.’ The smaller grotto was the kitchen. The hunters in the vicinity gave them game, while the villagers brought them fruits, vegetables and eggs, and so they lived very comfortably. The men with the horses set up camp nearby.

The scenes cut into the living rock provide much material to record, principally for Flandin. While he worked to capture them (the King as warrior



Fig. 3. Pascal-Xavier Coste, Elvend (pres de Hamadan/Ectabane): Les inscriptions (Flandin 1851, pl. 24). Photograph courtesy Bibliothèque Municipale de Marseille.

and hunter, and as intermediary between gods), Coste decided to go on to Serpoul-Zohab (Sar-i Pul-i Zuhab), ancient Hulwan (Alwand), 150 km to the west between Mesopotamia and Persia, where the ancient trade route entered the Zagros Mountains. This is territory in which two Kurdish tribes were at war and where the Shah's person and rule was ignored (Coste 1878, 247). Coste left on 2 July and was gone for two weeks. His caravan consisted of a cook, the *mihmandar* Ressoul-bek, a groom, and two muleteers for the five mules that carried the baggage. 'With the exception of the muleteers we are all armed to the teeth' (*ibid.*, 248). Coste was chastised by a local official for travelling with such a light escort in an area where the Kurdish tribes were given to murder and brigandage. They did meet brigands, and they increased their guard by three men, but the worst that happened was an attack by fleas, 'the veritable scourge of Asia. European fleas are inoffensive by comparison' (*ibid.*, 252). They entered the Zagros Mountains: 'What a trail, great God! ... enormous blocks of rocks barred one's passage at every instant. After four and a half hours of march our horses were exhausted' (*ibid.*, 253). 'This valley of Serpoul-Zohab seems to have been lived in since antiquity ... and up to the present nothing of it has been drawn or described by voyagers' (*ibid.*, 260). Coste dated the reliefs here to the

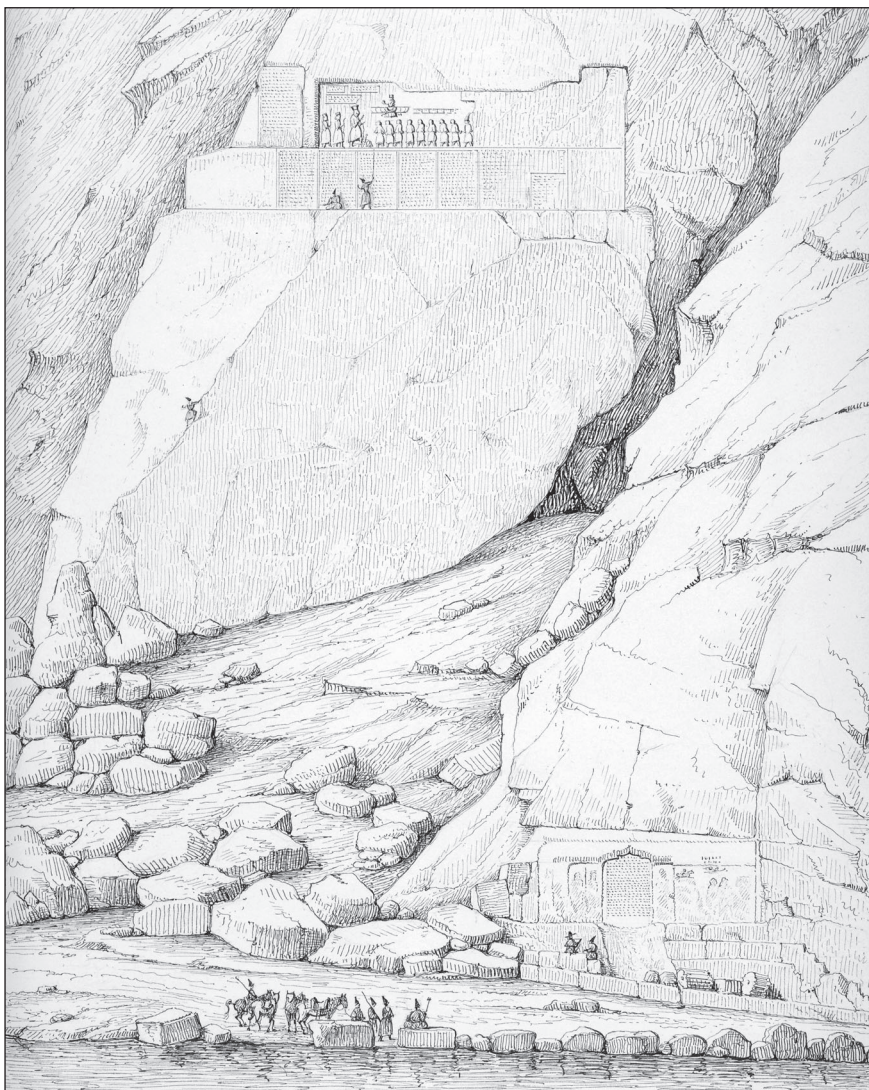


Fig. 4. Pascal-Xavier Coste, Bisutun: Vue d'ensemble. Ink on paper. BMVR-ms1127-fol144 bis. Photograph courtesy Bibliothèque Municipale de Marseille.

Achaemenid period (c. 500 BC), but they have since been found to go back to Elamite times (c. 2000 BC). Anubanini, King of the Lullubi, stands with his foot on a defeated enemy while the goddess Inanna holds out to him the ring of sovereignty. This iconography animates Darius' relief at Bisutun (mentioned above) and is later continued by the Sasanian rulers.

On 19 July Coste and Flandin were reunited, and headed south to Borujird, whence they hoped to reach Shushtar (near Susa, one of the four Achaemenid capitals) in Luristan (Susiane). The *begler-beg* (governor) of Borujird, however, referring to the complete tribal anarchy in Luristan, gave them cogent and persuasive reasons why a trip there was impractical and unrealistic (*ibid.*, 268). Flandin adds, 'we knew also that the only European who had been able to penetrate Chouchter [Shushhtar], Rawlinson, had done so at the head of 2000 men' (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 479).

Just outside of Borujird, Coste, who had prided himself on his health and strength, came down on 24 July with a terrible malarial fever that remained with him until they reached Isfahan 12 days later. 'The fever of this accursed country shaped and shattered me ... my suffering increased. A mist floated in front of my eyes; a circle of fire held my head in a vise' (Coste 1878, 269). He had quinine with him, but had forgotten the dose and preferred not to experiment. He remained indomitable, however:

In spite of my weakened condition, there remained in me enough moral force and will to trace, with my pocket compass, my itinerary and to fix the direction of the route we were following, as well as the position of the cities and villages, the position of mountains, rivers and course of waters. (*ibid.*, 270)

In Isfahan, to which they returned well satisfied with what they have accomplished but disappointed that they had not been able to get to Shushtar, a German doctor on the staff of the Russian Embassy cured Coste's fever. The trip from 1 June to 5 August took ten weeks or, as calculated by Flandin, 207 hours in the saddle (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 507–08).

South to Fars

Coste and Flandin's second excursion, to Fars, took about six months – according to Flandin, 388 hours in the saddle (*ibid.*, vol. 2, 529–30). The men left Isfahan on 27 September 1840 and returned on 26 February 1841. The main destinations were Pasargadae, Persepolis, and the monuments of Shapur, Firuzabad and Darabgird. 'In a country without relief stages, without inns, without communications, one cannot travel other than as a caravan. We were ten well-armed men with 13 mules and five horses' (Coste 1878, 271). Now it was Flandin who was racked with fever and who had to tie himself to his saddle and let the horse have its head, writing later that each stumble over the rough and rocky path caused him stabbing pains in the head and intestines (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 66). Flandin finally cured himself by taking 25 gm of sulfate of quinine with diminishing doses as recommended by Dr. Lachèze, who had spent several years in Egypt and had been attached to de Sercey's official mission (*ibid.*, vol. 1, 490).

From Isfahan to Shiraz they followed one of the principal commercial arteries of Persia. Flandin remarks (*ibid.*, vol. 2, 69) that ‘in any country it is impossible that there be a route more monotonous, desolate or sad’:

Our track was only barely marked by the footprints of camels and mules. Once lost, nothing will guide one back to it. ... On the left, the view dissolves in the immensity of the Kerman desert, which blurs with the sky in a dense and burning vapour. On the right extend the savage mountains in whose gorges hide the Bakhtiaris, the terror of this country and of the caravans ... For the traveller there is nothing in this inhospitable route, and he must bring everything with him, even water. (*ibid.*, 73–74)

In a ruined caravansarai Flandin rails against the negligence of the government, which without administration, without foresight, along this great artery from the gulf to the Caspian, left everything to decline and neglected to repair the channels through which the riches of the country circulated, thus allowing the sources of public wealth to evaporate (*ibid.*, 77).

The first archaeological stop was Pasargadae, capital of Cyrus II (r. 559–530 BC), the first great king of the Achaemenid royal house, and the site of his tomb. They arrived next at the Merdacht (Marv Dasht) plain, the locus of a rich cluster of ancient sites. Here they visited Naksh-e Rostam, the royal necropolis where Achaemenid tombs and Sasanian rock panels remained as ‘extraordinary souvenirs of ancient Persia ... the shadow of Darius next to that of Shapur’ (*ibid.*, 91).

‘We pitched our tents in the garden of the village of Hassan-Abad, the Ketkhuda having rudely refused us a house’, writes Coste (1878, 279). Flandin elaborates: ‘The Ketkhuda, not caring about firmans from the Shah or about our needs, was insultingly rude. Ressoul-Bek, our official escort, was irate’ (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 92–93), and Flandin had to separate the men from blows. ‘Our mission depended as much on calm and prudence as on firmness and courage. We took lodging in a garden which was much better [than a house], settled in and festooned the trees with guns, sabres and bridles’ (*ibid.*, 95) They paid off their muleteer, and Ressoul-Bek was sent to the Prince-Governor of Shiraz province, to obtain from him a firman, soldiers for their protection, and provisions. He returned with all three, ‘plus some of the Shiraz wine, about which all the Persian poets declaim’ (Coste 1878, 280) and which they drank to poetic recitations of Hafiz by Ressoul-Bek.

The men worked under what the Persians call *hoftob-guerden*, a three-sided tent that protected them from the sun and which they had brought with them from Isfahan (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 96). Coste illustrated the 64-m high cliff at Naqsh-e Rostam, with its four Achaemenid tombs and its seven Sasanian relief panels (fig. 5). Each tomb, with a façade roughly 18 m long, was 15 m above

ground level (Coste 1878, 281); the oldest belonged to Darius I (522–486 BC). To study them, Coste ‘hoisted himself up with the aid of ladders and by arms and ropes to the tombs’ platform above the bas-reliefs. These tombs were inaccessible and had been so always. We found no trace of a ramp or stairway’ (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 122). Flandin meanwhile ‘works on the beautiful panels of stone’, i.e., the Sasanian reliefs, the two most remarkable being the investiture of Ardashir I (r. AD 224–241; fig. 6) and the triumph of Shapur I (r. AD 242–272) over the Roman Emperor Valerian in AD 260. Flandin praised the latter for ‘the force of its composition and the energy of its personalities’ (*ibid.*, 109). At the base of the tomb of Darius I, and under the Sassanian panel showing Hormizd II charging an enemy, they found another panel. Six men with pickaxes and shovels removed fallen rocks and the dried, rock-hard earth of centuries in a trench 4 m wide and 7 m long, to discover a new, unknown relief, just as big but better preserved than the others (*ibid.*, 107). Flandin was thrilled to note scale-like depictions on the warriors’ bodies, an indication that they had been protected by armour. ‘Of all the Persian bas-reliefs, Achaemenid or Sassanian, this one is the only one which gives us a more or less complete idea of Persian armament’ (*ibid.*, 108–09).

Near Naqshi-i Rostam were the panels of Naksh-e Rostam, but ‘because of the angle of the mountain, and the need to really look for the reliefs with the care of a serious explorer, they are the least known of these reliefs’ (*ibid.*, 131). Coste and Flandin left well pleased with their work here: ‘this precious mine of ... antique art scarcely defined, badly known and until now imperfectly rendered’ (*ibid.*, 127).

From 25 October to 8 December they worked at Persepolis, 6 km south of Naksh-e Rostam. They established camp underneath a terrace of the main palace, protected on three sides by escarpments and the palace wall (*ibid.*, 143). Coste and Flandin worked frantically: ‘We were now drawing and running from one bas-relief to the other, inspecting underground chambers, engaged columns, sarcophagi, walls and taking measurements in the middle of this ocean of ruins which overwhelms the spirit’ (Coste 1878, 280).

Occasionally they had visitors, always Persians,

who never failed to examine everything, look over my [Flandin’s] work, question me about my reasons for camping there at such length to do what I was doing. The only reason they could justify my coming such a distance was that there was nothing as beautiful in France or Europe ... I also took the opportunity to question them and found that these travellers knew nothing precise about the origins or the destruction of the palace at Persepolis. (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 171–74)

Nor could the villagers whom Flandin engaged to dig out the buried sculptures or fragments believe ‘that love of art was our sole concern. They were convinced



Fig. 5. Pascal-Xavier Coste, Naqshe Rostem: Vue Générale de la nécropole royale (Flandin 1851, pl. 172). Photograph courtesy Bibliothèque Municipale de Marseille.

that, since we had come from so far and took such an interest in the inscriptions, we were there to find treasure, and it was sometimes impossible to convince them this was not so' (*ibid.*, 191–92).

At their departure, Coste writes: 'Having achieved all of the elevations of these beautiful ruins, during two months of sojourn, impeded by violent winds and storms, obliged in the night to preserve ourselves from tribesmen ... we achieved our goal. ... We said goodbye to all these stones, memories of a flourishing city' (Coste 1878, 308). Flandin, despite his fury over the European names scrawled over the monuments, inscribed in big letters on one of the highest pillars of the palace, with the aid of a ladder, 'our names, our qualifications, the nature and origin of our mission, the extent of our discoveries, of our work and the length of our stay' (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 212).

Traversing the Merdacht (Marv Dasht) plain again, once a fertile and productive land, Flandin fires off another volley at the culpable insouciance of the government for allowing the clever drainage system to become lost in the soil, thus transforming the area into an impassable swamp (*ibid.*, 213–15). At the village of Zergoun, they lodged 'in a great hovel, without doors, without windows, everywhere stumbling over pieces of plaster, and bricks'. These accommodations

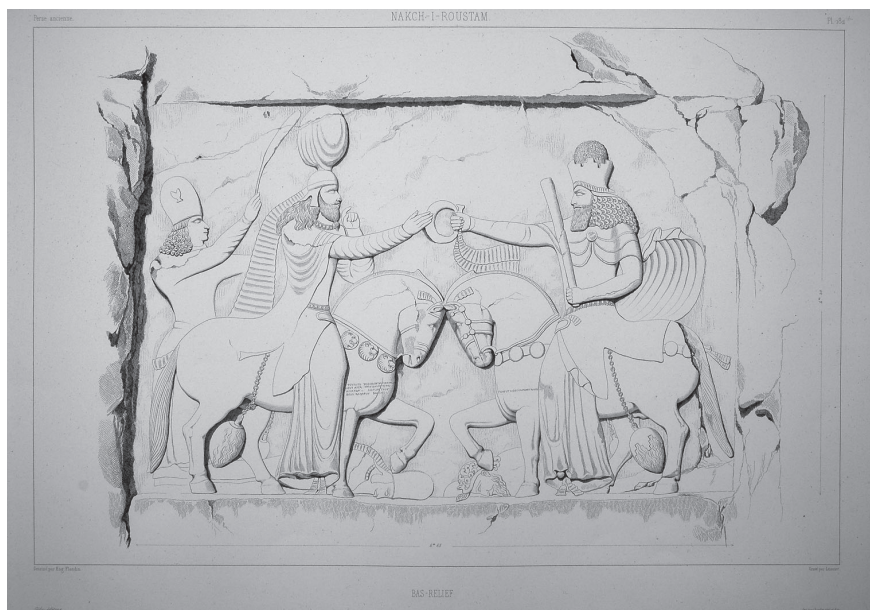


Fig. 6. Eugène Flandin, Firuzabad. Relief d'Ardechir Ier ou la chevauchée fantastique (Flandin 1851, pl. 43). Photograph courtesy Bibliothèque Municipale de Marseille.

prompt Flandin to observe: 'A bad lodging has for the traveller the advantage of making him rise early' (*ibid.*, 216).

Even Shiraz, 'the premiere city of domes and minarets' (*ibid.*, 218), had not escaped the ruin that overruns the country. Here they paid homage at the tombs of Sa'di and Hafiz, Persia's great poets. That of Sa'di was one hour from the city, along a sad, difficult and arid path at the base of high mountains, 'a place of severe solitude' (*ibid.*, 227). That of Hafiz was quite the opposite, set in a garden planted with magnificent cypress, pines and orange trees, 'where people rendezvous to recite favourite odes and smoke their *kalyuns* in the shade of flowering trees' (Coste 1878, 311). They were hosted by Mo'tamed al-Dowleh Farhad Mirza, a young half-brother of the Shah and a recently appointed governor who had been given European exposure by Mme. de la Marinière. Flandin visited him several times in his summer palace to make his portrait, and the French mission stimulated his intellectual and antiquarian curiosity (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 223).

They left Shiraz heading west on 18 December, having reduced their escort to six horses and eight mules in order to travel more quickly, and leaving behind seven cases and the tents for safekeeping. Their departure was marked by an

event that could have become dangerous, for during the night a fire immolated a little mosque near the Bushir gate. The mullahs launched a rumour blaming the accident on the two Frenchmen. 'The rumour spread ... a hideous mob surrounded our house ... our peril grew at every minute. Luckily the Governor was alerted to our danger' (*ibid.*, 315). Investigations into the matter determined that it was the custodian who had set fire to the mosque after removing all the furniture, as revenge for Coste's attempt to draw it.

Beyond Shiraz was Shapur (Bishapur), but first they had to descend into the Kazeroun plain through the Kotal-Dukhtar pass in the Pyra-zan mountains. It was a hair-raising route.

A gigantic mountain of rock towered over a chasm without bottom, over which there was a trail hardly perceptible ... a narrow track, zig-zagging rapidly from one rock outcropping to another. ... The polished path offered no purchase for the animals' hooves. To ascend, the muleteers must heave and push their beasts; to descend, they brake them by their tails. Often they were obliged to unload the animals and themselves carry their burdens until a better place opened up. ... For us also it was necessary to dismount and guide our horses. There are few caravans that go through this dangerous pass without leaving behind a bale, or even a mule. (*ibid.*, 246)

Outside Khumaridje, on the other side of the Kaseroun valley, there is another treacherous mountain passing. Coste describes the landscape:

We followed a path wherein all parts were heaped with the black vestiges of ancient volcanic eruptions, the route through the mountains slit from base to summit by an ancient titanic force. It was a vast landslide of huge boulders, of blocks of marble, of limestone, of flint. One would say that a mighty breath had chosen to petrify this chaos at the moment when it was spread at its most savage fury ... We dismounted and proceeded on foot from fear that the smallest mis-step would send us toppling, with our horses, to the bottom of the precipice, at the bottom of which we saw the corpse of a mule which wolves were engorging. (Coste 1878, 322; see also Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 284)

Shapur's city, in the Bishapur gorge, was off the beaten track, and the Begler-bey of Kazeroun gave them two guards as protection. On the left bank of the Shapur river there were two panels, one very eroded, the other the triumph of King Shapur. On the right bank, there were more panels, but 'there is no trail ... To approach them it is necessary to hoist oneself up over rocks covered with spiny underbrush and impenetrable brambles, or to drag oneself painfully on one's knees inside little channels hollowed out by the passage of water' (Flandin 1851, vol. 1, 261). 'We were told to keep our bodyguards with us, but they did not inspire much confidence, and so we worked as it were with pistols cocked' (*ibid.*,

262). 'The sculpture is of a more beautiful character and of better execution than that of Naqshi-Rustam and Naqshi-Rajab' (Coste 1878, 321).

Descending into the area around Bandar Bushir, Coste writes: 'This valley ... has a great number of plantations and date palms. The soil is well cultivated. This area reminded me of Egypt, an agreeable memory' (*ibid.*, 323). Nevertheless, 'there is a state of armed violence between the villages, which England foments and supports' (*ibid.*, 327). Flandin writes more fully about the political unrest of the area: the local tribes against the Shah's representative, the Persians of the area against the Ottomans and therefore in support of Muhammad 'Ali's invasion of Syria, and against the British who supported the Ottomans against the Egyptians.

Coste and Flandin departed Bandar Bushir safely on 2 January 1842 for Firuzabad (site of Ardashir's royal city), Fassa and Darabgird. The sensible route was to return to Shiraz and travel south from there, but they did not want to retrace their steps, and despite the discouragement of the muleteers they marched into the interior through the high mountains (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 318), which made for a terrible trip. They followed no caravan or mapped route. After Haram, they followed, crossed and re-crossed the Bauheh River eight or ten times.

In several places [the path] was so narrow and so full of deep holes, we were forced to unload our mules and carry their burdens ourselves. The mules slipped on the rock-bound route, and fell into the water ... Our sugar melted, our provisions were spoiled, and we dripped ... [we swore] against these rocks, the capricious torrent, and this country into which God seems to have thrown all the debris of chaos. (*ibid.*, 325–26)

Night surprised us near an isolated habitation, a mill on the right bank of the river where we sought a night's rest. But as we started to cross the river, men armed with guns cried to us that they would fire on us if we persisted in approaching their cabin. There was nothing else to do but to continue to follow, amid the traps of the night, these terrible paths barely traced between mountain peaks, precipices and the bed of the river. (Coste 1878, 328)

Finally, after 13 hours of arduous march they bivouacked in the open, Coste and Flandin mounting guard.

On 9 January it took three and a half hours to traverse the plain and arrive at the small village of Firuzabad, at little distance from a high mountain whose summit was covered 'with a diadem of snow' (*ibid.*, 330). At the entrance to the gorge there was a large and unusual bas-relief, 20 m long and 4 m high, commemorating the victory of Ardashir over the last Parthian king. Although it was poorly preserved, 'the animated composition offered action in the moment

of combat' (*ibid.*, 332; fig. 7). Nearby, Coste saw the ruins of a Sassanian fortress, but there was no path, and to scale the rock cliff was certain peril. 'This difficulty prevented me from making a plan, which vexed me greatly because from afar it seemed the most complete of the Sassanian period' (*ibid.*, 333).

Flandin became quite ill, but they left Firuzabad anyway on 13 January. 'We set off in spite of the rain that beat against our faces and did not cease. Our mules fell, our horses stumbled. As we ascended, the rain became snow ... and gusted in our faces' (*ibid.*, 334). This was freak weather, the citrus fruit being ripe and the weather normally benign, and they were not prepared for the cold and snow. Flandin's condition worsened:

I was in the grip of a most violent cerebral fever. The movement of the horse and the fatigue did much to augment what I endured. I had a crisis so strong that I lost my equilibrium and fell to the earth, where I remained ... with no other wish than to quietly lie there and die. (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 359)

A savant in Paris had described ruins near Fessa 'as important as those of Persepolis' (Coste 1878, 335), but when they arrived they found nothing. Flandin writes: 'Morier notwithstanding, there was nothing at Fessa or in its vicinity of an interesting monument' (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 362). In Darabgird, a 'joyous village whose houses are hidden by date palms and citrus trees' (*ibid.*, 365), they lodged in a little palace that, though ruinous, was set in the loveliest garden they saw in Persia, 'full of date and citrus trees whose branches bent towards us under the weight of fruit begging to be picked' (*ibid.*, 359). There they found a bas relief of Shapur once again triumphing over the Romans, 'a subject', Coste (1878, 338) notes laconically, 'which figures on most of the Sassanian bas-reliefs'.

In Shiraz once more, Coste and Flandin write of money for the first time. At the end of May 1840, the Comte de Sercey had left them with an economically calculated advance of 7200 francs out of his own funds, which he hoped would suffice for six months until they received their allotment from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Now, eight months later, they were out of money and had received nothing from the Ministry (Grosjean and Grosjean et al. 1995, 11, 14–16).

We find that Mr. Le Baron Bode, first secretary of the Russian Embassy, had passed through en route to Shushtar, ancient Suziane. Our instructions had told us to explore this ancient province, but the lack of money did not allow us to go ... Our financial resources were so terribly exhausted that I was forced to sell my instruments to General Seminot [of the Russian Embassy], who appreciated them. This sum was still not sufficient to gain Isfahan, and we sold several objects such as shawls and arms, which we had received as presents. Even if we had had the money it would not have been possible to go to Susiane, since we also learnt that the Bakhtiaris and the Khan of Bihbahan were in full revolt. (Coste 1878, 343–44)

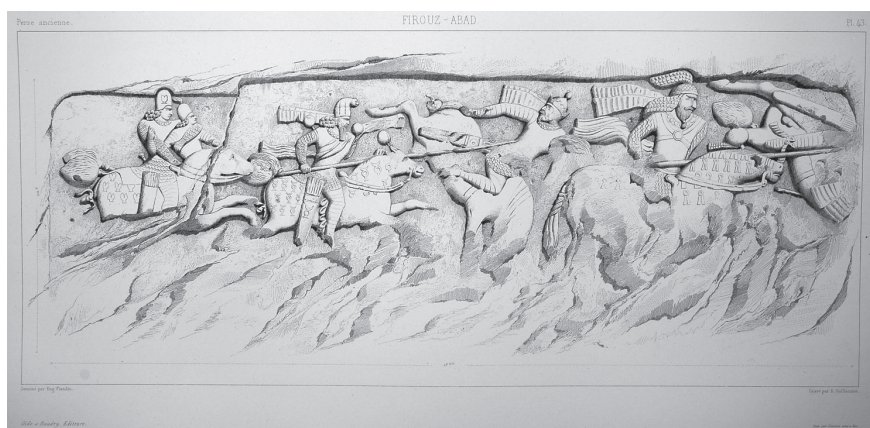


Fig. 7. Eugène Flandin, Naqsh-e Rostem: Investiture equestre d'Ardeshir (Flandin 1851, pl. 182). Photograph courtesy Bibliothèque Municipale de Marseille.

Flandin adds (1851, vol. 2, 380): 'This was the first limitation our budget imposed on our work.' Much later, on their return trip through Teheran, they met Baron Bode again. He shared with Flandin all that he had gathered about the antiquities in Shushtar, and Flandin was consoled: 'After seeing the drawings and from what he told me, the monuments ... offered in reality little of interest compared to those we had seen elsewhere' (*ibid.*, 434).

They rested in Shiraz for 11 days, said goodbye to Farhad Mirza, and returned to Isfahan by the same route they had come, with a last stop in Persepolis to make some plaster casts. 'We chose two examples of transportable size' (*ibid.*, 365). 'We enveloped them in a ream of cotton, packed them in a case, and wrapped them in our tents in the hope of taking them to France to prove the quality of our work' (Coste 1878, 345). Flandin (1851, vol. 2, 390–91) describes more fully the problems inherent in this simple enterprise: the butter, which was all they could find to coat the sculptures, froze in lumps before they could apply the plaster, which also hardened before they could apply it to the vertical sculptures; and when done, their lack of funds did not allow them to stay long enough to dry the casts thoroughly before packing them up.

On 17 February, north of Persepolis at Khonakergan, they found that the caravanserai that was deserted in October was now alive with a menagerie of camels, mules, horses, donkeys and muleteers, all lodged higgledy-piggledy among unloaded bales, 'crying, bleating, neighing incessantly in all tones' (*ibid.*, 394–95). Armed with clubs, they had to evict the donkeys from the travellers' rooms before they could lie down on the straw pallets (Coste 1878, 346). 'Even so it was impossible to sleep', added Flandin. The route to Isfahan was cold and

snowy, and at Abadeh, wet and shivering, they lit a fire. 'The chimney was entirely blocked up, and we were plunged into thick smoke that brought tears to our eyes and bruised our larynxes with coughs' (*ibid.*, 346). When they arrived in Isfahan on 26 February there was no letter of credit, and they were forced to borrow from their friend Boré, the French philologist (*ibid.*).

THE RETURN JOURNEY

On 10 March 1841 they left Isfahan and its 'domes and minarets of a hundred colours' (*ibid.*, 347), returning north by the same route they had travelled south with the Ambassador. At Qum, they experienced a sandstorm: 'This dust, in a thick veil suspended between sky and earth, hid the sun and prevented us from seeing for 15 days' (*ibid.*, 347; Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 427). They arrived in Teheran on 20 March. Because of the rains they were forced to stay longer than they planned, but thanks to the Russians who were in the city they passed the time profitably. It was Nayruz, the great spring festival of New Year, and they joined the Russian Ambassador in participating in the ceremony. As a result, Flandin had a private interview with Muhammad Shah, who was eager to see his drawings. Flandin (1851, vol. 2, 439) writes appreciatively of the Shah's interest and pronounced artistic taste: 'He found in my portfolio that which pleased him and he took his time looking at it'. The amiable Baron Bode, Counsellor to the Russian Ambassador, introduced Flandin to two young Mirzas, Seif-ud-dowle and Khusrau; Flandin spent many hours with them, 'as I had with their father, Malek-Kassem Mirza, and I owe them many insights into Persian customs' (*ibid.*, 435).

Coste and Flandin left Teheran on 24 April in spite of unceasing rain, in a caravan of 20 horses and mules (Coste 1878, 353), parting sorrowfully from Ressoul-Bek, 'faithful and courageous companion of our travels' (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 444). Their object was Constantinople, where funds awaited them with the French Ambassador, and the Bosphorus, the quickest way home. In order to explore a new area of Persia they wanted to approach Turkey via the provinces of Mazanderan and Gilan and the cities of Ardebil and Tiflis (*ibid.*, 441), but the torrential spring rains had flooded the coastal plains, and no muleteer would undertake the journey. Near Sultaniya – 'what a trip!' – they encountered rain, hailstones and raging winds. 'The route was covered by a horrible muddy sludge' (Coste 1878, 335). 'Our horses marched slowly, trapped to their hocks in thick mud from which it was hard to extricate them ... our baggage was soaked through, and our coats, our clothes, even boots, everything impregnated, and no way to dry them' (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 447).

Arriving in Tabriz on 9 May, Coste wrote a draft on his Marseille bank that a

commercial house run by Greeks obligingly cashed (Coste 1878, 354). Here a decision as to which route to follow was necessary: rains continued to rule out the coastal route, around Tiflis there was plague, and around Erzurum, the way to Trebizond, there was famine. 'So I persuaded my colleague M. Flandin to go via Baghdad, a longer route, but the only one that was open to us' (*ibid.*, 357). 'We had great difficulty in finding a muleteer who agreed to follow this unknown, uncommon route that no caravan undertook because of all its difficulties' (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 455).

They left Tabriz on 4 June. Just before Lake Urmiya, Coste suffered his second physical misadventure of the trip, a kick from his horse.

The pain was acute, the ankle swelled to the size of an orange. I rubbed it with brandy, but the inflammation increased. I could hardly ride my horse. I suffered horribly. At Diza-khalil we met Mr Marco, a Greek, who had always lived in the Orient ... He came to my rescue in applying a compress of egg whites beaten with brandy. I immediately felt relief. (Coste 1878, 358)

They travelled down the west side of the lake to Urmiya, where they met once more and were welcomed by Shah Zadeh Malek Kassem Mirza – amiable, obliging, gracious and full of curiosity (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 465) and with whom they 'pass the time a l'Europe' (Coste 1878, 358). After leaving the Lake they entered Kurdish territory, where they had to cross the river Gueder, the strongest they had encountered in Persia. 'Its waters were swift and deep. We took a long time before the muleteers found a place to ford, and then the mules and horses had to swim across' (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 473). They had been warned about the Kurds, but they were so warmly received that Flandin formed another opinion about them: 'their reputation was not nearly as bad as we had been led to believe' (*ibid.*, 480).

They left Persia at Banah and arrived on Ottoman soil at Bistar. Their voyage in Persia was over, but the return continued through Baghdad, where they visited Ctesiphon and Babylon (which made up for their omission of Shushtar). At Mosul, they could not see the ruins of Hatra because 'the Arabs who inhabit this locality do not permit one to approach it' (*ibid.*, vol. 1, 407). They continued on to Diyarbekir, to Aleppo, to Latakia, to Tripoli, to Beirut. Coste was very disappointed that he could not go inland to see Damascus and Jerusalem, but the road was not safe, so they embarked and sailed home via Cyprus, Rhodes, Smyrna, Istanbul again, Athens and Malta. On 4 February 1842 Coste 'disembarked at Marseille, very happy to have returned from these far distant travels' (Coste 1878, 446). Flandin exits with more flourish:

We had accomplished our task, conscientiously fulfilling the mission with which we had been entrusted. We had proceeded during more than two years without stopping, riding at first through the snows of Armenia, in a cold of minus 18°, then

in Persia, from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf ... in a temperature of 46°. We had traversed the lands of the Shah in all directions and scrupulously recorded all the archaeological sites scattered throughout this vast country. ... [We said] good-bye to this land of Asia where we had found so many trials, encountered some dangers and endured all kinds of privations. But we bring with us rich material, the awareness of having fulfilled our charge, and a legacy that will live long after us. (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 522)

A rich and enduring legacy it was! The Coste-Flandin drawings of the ancient monuments, as 'exact and precise' as it was possible to achieve, were the first ones deemed accurate and reliable. Indeed, before he went, Coste had learnt the rudiments of cuneiform writing as an aid in his task. Although their work was superseded later by photography, their archive is still an indispensable complement for research and publication, done as it was on the eve of later excavations (see Ferrier 1989; Mousavi 2002; Sancisi-Weerdenburgh 1991). Their 'modern' views are just as valuable, for they preserve Persia in the middle of the 19th century. There are hardly any illustrated books today on Persian architecture during the Qajar period that do not contain Coste-Flandin drawings, and for the buildings that have been demolished or completely altered, their drawings are not only first-class documentary records, but in some cases the only record.

Coste and Flandin may also have played a part in stimulating Persia's own interest in her past. In Shiraz they met several times with Mo'tamed al-Dowleh Farhad Mirza (1817–87), the Governor of Fars. They enhanced his intellectual and antiquarian interest in the ruins of Fars, and he later became the first Persian to organize excavations at Persepolis. As noted above, on their return through Teheran Flandin met with Muhammad Shah, who was eager to hear about the trip and 'found in my portfolio that which pleased him' (Flandin 1851, vol. 2, 439).

For the modern traveller, used to speed, comfort, predictability and guidance, such a journey is hardly conceivable. The Coste-Flandin adventure is certainly more fun to read about than to experience. These were hardy, resourceful and brave men, who relied on their wits and determination for survival and success. They spark the substance of their saga (the tedium of mounted travel, extreme weather, hostile landscapes, deteriorating infrastructure, lawless tribesmen) with passages on the beauty of nature, insights into a new culture, observations on international policies, and the challenge and thrill of their work. Coste and Flandin write clearly and engagingly, and one can still read about a trip taken 170 years ago with profit and enjoyment. Thus, while the 1840 French embassy to Persia was not productive politically or economically, thanks to the Coste-Flandin archaeological mission it was a great cultural success and a personal triumph.

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From *Assyrian Discoveries* by George Smith

(London 1875, pp. 41 and 48–49)

At Tellibel our accommodation was bad; we received a little room in the interior of a house, with only one hole situated in the roof for ventilation and letting out the smoke. The place was very stuffy, and yet the natives crowded in to see us, and we were forced to clear them out of the room before we could do anything. In the night I was awakened by hearing somebody lashing about with a riding-whip; and calling out to ask what was the matter, my companion told me that a cat trying to descend from the hole in the roof had fallen on to him and woke him up; he took hold of his whip and laid about him, but as it was dark I think puss escaped.

...

On the next day I went over the water and examined the mounds of Nineveh again, and telegraphed to England to know if the firman was yet granted for excavating. As I obtained no satisfactory information I resolved to go to Baghdad, and the river Tigris being now in flood I directed a raft to be constructed to float down the river. The raft was composed of skins inflated with air and fastened to a frame of rough logs; on one part of this frame a rough shelter was raised and covered over with some matting; this shelter formed a sort of house in which we slept on the journey.

On the afternoon of the 7th I committed myself to this wretched craft and commenced to descend the river. As we floated down the Tigris from Mosul the gigantic mounds of Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunas, with the ruins of the wall of Nineveh, began to recede from our gaze; and we came in sight of the mound of Yaremjah, and later of the mounds of Hammum Ali, on the west of the Tigris. On arriving opposite the mound of Nimroud, the scene of Layard's first excavations, I stopped the raft and landed to examine the place. It

was a long walk from the river to the mound, and after examining the trenches I turned to go back to the raft, but night came on, and I had considerable difficulty in reaching the place where it was moored. I resolved to stay the night there as the weather was stormy, and I very soon found my house on the raft was almost useless, the rain coming down and penetrating the roof in various places, rendering us very uncomfortable.

Khalil Aga: A Lost American on the Nile

Cassandra Vivian

Recently discovered in the Henry Salt Papers at the British Library in London is a handwritten manuscript that forms another Western record of the 1820–21 Egyptian Expedition to Nubia. The journal, listed as *Journal of an Englishman? who travelled to Sennar with Ismael Pasha's expedition to subdue the Eastern Sudan; 26 Aug 1820 to 23 August 1821*, is a compelling day-by-day chronology of the horrific conditions endured by the men of the army as they made their way up the Nile from Wadi Halfa to Sennar (fig. 1). A careful examination concludes not only that the manuscript was written by the American known as Khalil Aga, but that it is an important document that unravels some of the mysteries and adventures of this incredible journey. At the very least the manuscript provides the source and location of several of British Consul General Henry Salt's graffiti. Further, the newly discovered manuscript adds details about the inner conflicts among the men in the army. More important, it clarifies the dates of George Bethune English's book, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Senaar, under the Command of His Excellence Ismail Pasha, Undertaken by Order of His Highness Mehemmed Ali Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, by an American in the Service of the Viceroy*, which since its publication in 1822 has frustrated scholars because English used only Islamic dates. Finally, and most important of all, the 200-year-old journal has proved to be the only day-by-day narrative of a journey along the entire river, including conditions, place names and descriptions of the rapids at the great S-bend of the Nile, the formidable Fourth and Fifth cataracts.

WHO WROTE THE JOURNAL?

There were three Americans on the Egyptian expedition, all using Muslim names: Mahomet Effendi, Khalil Aga and Achmed Aga. Mahomet Effendi wrote a book and identified himself as the Bostonian George Bethune English. He acknowledged his American associates, but, just as with the dates of the journey, English

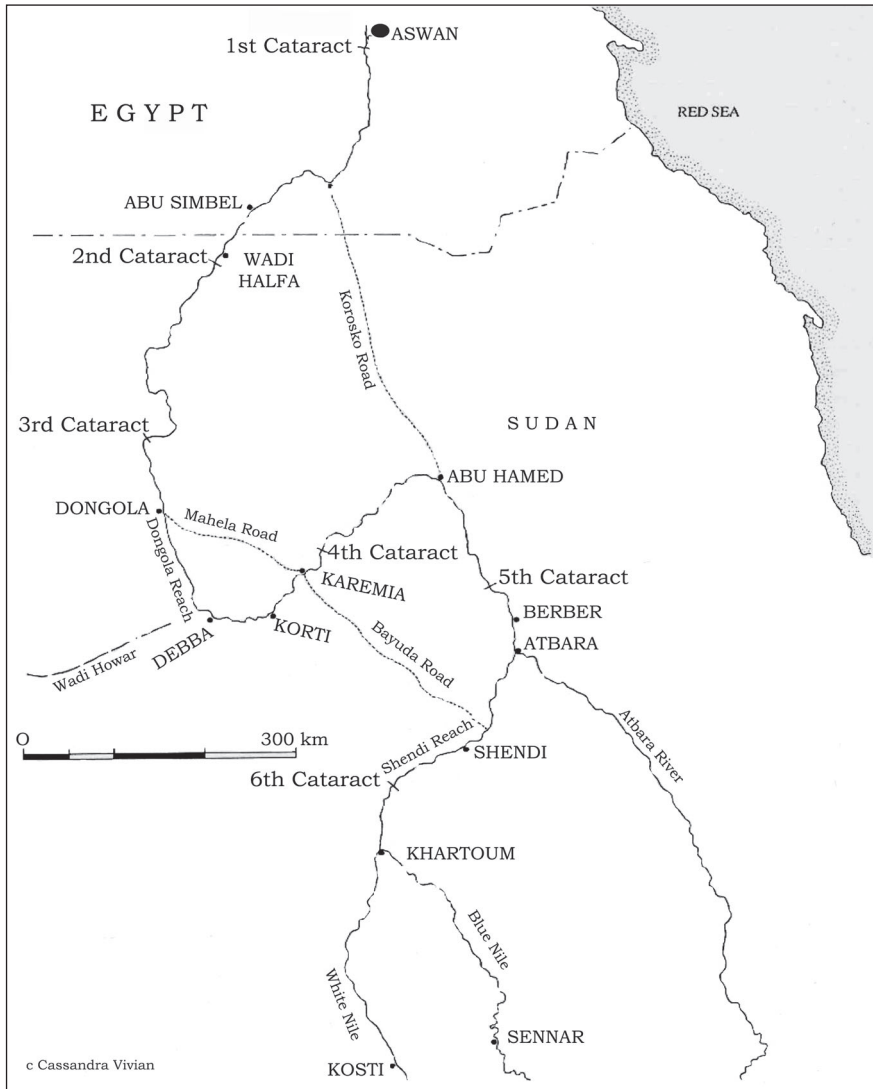


Fig. 1. Map of the Nile from Wadi Halfa to Sennar, showing the First through Fifth cataracts.
© Cassandra Vivian.

used their adopted Muslim names and never gave their American ones. The most detail he provided (English 1823, 16) was:

I had with me two soldiers, one Khalil Aga, an American of New York, and the other Achmed Aga, a Swiss by birth but an American by naturalization, both

excellent swimmers. They prepared for me a small raft of logs on which I embarked [to check the damages to his ship] ... When [*sic*] I was placed on my raft with Khalil and Achmed swimming by its sides and pushing it along. In the hilarity of the moment we cheered our passage by singing 'Hail Columbia', which was probably the first time that the wilds of Africa ever re-echoed to a song of Liberty. Achmed Aga died on the Third Cataract as Khalil his comrade believed, but upon uncertain grounds, of poison given him by a Greek in consequence of a quarrel.

This information did not appear in the edition published in England a year earlier. It must also be noted that English confused the Third and Fourth cataracts in his book. Achmed did not die on the Third Cataract as reported above, but on the Fourth.

Additional information about the three Americans appeared in the book *Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia*, written by the British clergymen George Waddington (1793–1869) and Barnard Hanbury (1793–1833). According to them, a few weeks before the expedition got underway Khalil and Achmed were seen on the streets of Cairo in Oriental clothing. Waddington (1822, 114–17) professed that both men had deserted the American navy.

Two other Americans followed his example, and also (to use the orthodox expression) 'took the turban', and they have since been heard to express their repentance of an act performed (as they say) at his persuasion. Of their conversion, or rather, transformation (and it seems to have been almost miraculous), I can give no better account than by a *literal* translation of one I received from an eye-witness: 'One day in Cairo, I saw pass by two Americans, dressed like common sailors (which they were) in a blue jacket and trowsers; and then, for eight or ten days, I saw no more of them. After that interval, I observe them again, dressed in red, with a white turban on, and I say, 'What thing is this?' (Che cos'è questo?) and I am told, that they have made Turks of themselves; and since, it seems, they have also made gentlemen of themselves. One of these was our third visitor (Khalil).

An examination of the British Library journal makes it clear that it was written by one of the three Americans. The evidence is found in the jargon and incidents of the narrative. For example, the journal follows a Naval log style with sailing times, wind directions and visual landmarks listed for every day of the journey. Nautical terms such as 'got under weigh' and 'warping', as well as the ability to perform naval tasks, endorse the idea that the author had the maritime background Waddington and Hanbury reported. Further, the journal recounts that Khalil performed seafaring tasks: 'I took to pieces one of the spyglass belonging to the Selectar to wipe and clean it, the man in charge of the things not knowing how.' (6 April). An American connection is found in phrases within the text that had to have been written by a person familiar with the American environment. Phrases such as 'Indian corn' (28 Nov), 'American black bird' (29

Nov), 'barter as the Indians in America' (3 Dec), and 'savages of America' (4 July) are found throughout the journal.

The journal did not belong to English, for not only is he mentioned dozens of times in the third person, but he did not travel the Fourth and Fifth cataracts, as the diarist did. Both in his book and in the journal, English's journey across the desert to avoid the two lengthy cataracts is well documented. Nor did the journal belong to Achmed, though there is one ambiguous passage to suggest that Achmed may have written in the journal. On 4 March was written:

4th The morning overclouded with an appearance of rain, an escort with a hundred and twenty camels set out to cross the desert with whom Mahomet Effendi likewise departed. After his departure my companion went up to the camp with the two camels to draw them provender. The Chief officer would not issue provender without seeing the animals, for fear of being imposed upon, frequently impositions having been practiced by the Soldiery who had drawn grain fraudulently under pretence of having camels and had sold it to those who had money. – In the course of the day a boy of the Shageer came to beg tobacco of Peter Bosari, an extraordinary circumstance for a boy to belonging to Khalil Aga to beg tobacco.

The most we can deduce is that Achmed may have been co-author of the early portion of the journal, because he died before the journey was completed, and the journal ends at the conclusion of the expedition. Only one American finished the journey with English, and that was Khalil Aga. English mentions this several times: 'At about four hours after the noon of the 8th we quitted the banks of the Nile, and turned into the desert, carrying as much water as we could, myself taking four water-skins for myself, Khalil Aga, and a black slave of mine' (English 1923, 211). So, although briefly summarized here, there is enough evidence to indicate that the unknown writer of the mysterious and long-lost journal was in fact the American Khalil Aga.

TRAVERSING THE CATARACTS

It is the information the journal provides that is most important. Khalil acknowledges that he is the author of a number of graffiti for Henry Salt, the English Consul General. Obviously Khalil had some association with Salt, for his journal was discovered among Salt's papers. The Reverend Joseph Wolff saw him convalescing at Salt's Cairo home after the arduous year-long journey (Bayford 1824, 175–76). While on the journey through the difficult passages of the Fourth and Fifth cataracts, Khalil took the time to carve Salt's name and to record those events in his journal. The first instance noted by him was on 22 March 1821, at a temple that he called Caabu [Sabu]; the second was on 27 March, and the third on 5 April. The final entry reads:

April 5th Cloudy morning blowing strong as yesterday from NW. The people were sent down to fetch up one of the large boats left behind yesterday and in the meantime we repaired the boat that got damaged yesterday.

At 10 o'clock got under way. About five miles above the falls the river runs ESE [indecipherable] to be smooth and without current. Seventeen miles above the Eastern Bank of the falls is a large city called Emtuabee, at the foot of a large mountain three miles distant from the river; it is beautifully situated amongst large groves of trees extending down to the Nile. There is a temple extant with 27 columns still standing and two houses as large as life, two men, one cow, and a large sword with several inscriptions upon it. Marked Mr. Salts name on all of them.

For those trying to understand Salt's movements in Sudan, Khalil's journal should clear up some confusion. Beyond that, the journal confirms the difficult relationships among the men of the journey. The Westerners had considerable problems with Ismail's *protomedico*, or first physician. He was a Smyrniot Greek who seems to have been continuously plotting. Every Western journal that mentions him condemned him as a rogue. He had one of his staff, an Italian named Dr Andrea Gentile, a pharmacist from Pergola, poisoned in lieu of repaying a loan to him (Waddington 1822, 115–17). The conflict was further commented upon by the French mineralogist Frédéric Cailliaud: 'Ibrahim lost his first doctor, ... This gentleman's pharmacist died later in the same way. An American had previously succumbed. Death seemed to want to claim all the gentlemen around me. Already six Europeans were no more' (Cailliaud 1826, vol. 2, 320–21). A July 1821 entry in Khalil's journal confirms the belief that the *protomedico* was plotting against the Europeans:

14th Dark morning with strong winds from ESE at 10 o'clock it rained hard Mahomet Effendi arranged his affairs to return to Cairo after performing a campaign of twelve months of misery and starvation. I myself have been treated in the grossest manner owing to the false reports that were brought to Ismail Pascha by his Doctor, the most notorious villain that ever God let live upon the earth, as can be certified by all that know him.

These men were not wrong. There is enough evidence to suggest that the *protomedico* not only tampered with their transportation but delayed the American's luggage when they were ordered to move forward to join Ismail (21 Feb). The effort culminated in English crossing the Bayuda Desert too late to join Ismail and forced Khalil and Achmed to travel with the boats through the great S-bend of the Nile.

More important than Salt's graffiti and the machinations of the *protomedico* is that Khalil's journal clarifies English's dates. George Bethune English used

Islamic dates exclusively throughout his book, thus leaving the Western world unclear as to when he was at a particular location. Khalil's journal is the key to connecting English's dates with other texts most of the time. Not always, for even the very first date is a contradiction. Three different journals give three different dates for English's arrival at Wadi Halfa. Waddington stated that English arrived on 10 November 1820 (Waddington 1820, 2), while Khalil's journal records the arrival at Halfa as 29 September. So, none of the starting dates agree, though Khalil's journal and English's agree more often than they disagree.

Above all, this journal is the only known record of the entire S-bend of the Nile, and Khalil Aga is the first known Westerner to have suffered its cataracts. The daily details of the hardships of the river are recorded in horrific detail. Not only does Khalil provide information about the landscape and the river, he also provides distance, difficulty and names for the hundreds of rapids. As late as 1903, Khalil's journal appears to have provided the only information on this section of the Nile. In *Our Sudan* (1905, 71), John Ward wrote:

The cataract possibly prevented Cailliaud, Hoskins, and Lepsius from following the course of the Nile hence to Abu Hamed, for they both avoided this part of the river. So we have no antiquarian tidings whatever of the Nile's banks between Abu Hamed and the Fourth Cataract, and must leave that region for future explorers, or till the promised railway along the river bank connecting Abu Hamed with Merowe, is made.

Ward did not know the journal that provided this information was among Henry Salt's papers. Why Salt did not consider Khalil's journal worthy of publication is a mystery, though more interested in antiquities than the course of the Nile, he may have considered the information irrelevant. For 57 days, from 21 February to 29 April 1821, Khalil Aga faced the rapids of the Fourth and Fifth cataracts. The expedition left the larger boats behind and sent only nine small boats through the rapids. The journey was gruesome, and over and over the villagers were pressed into labour to tow the boats up and over rapids and waterfalls.

March 5th Embarked in a small boat but unable to proceed this morning the wind increasing to gale with drifts of sand that darkened the air worse than ever I yet witnessed it. The chief Rizes came for Backshes (hand money) but my circumstances did not allow me to gratify him.

Started at 1/2 past three in company with five boats the river running about NNE for 3 miles. From the uppermost encampment whence the prince set out to cross the desert there is a rapid called Zawara [Zaara] and the island just above has the same name, it is very well cultivated. We were obliged to stop at five o'clock to wait for the Kangia of Abden Cachief [sic: Abdin Cacheff, appointed Governor of Dongola by Ismail] that has been under repair. –

6th Started this morning at seven o'clock the river running about ENE the wind still from the North. At 1/2 past twelve stopped and sent three of the Rizes on ahead to discover the best passage for the boats. My oilter went from the boat in the morning and did not return until late, but was unable to embark as we had passed over to the opposite side of the river. I was taken ill with a vomiting occasioned by the food I now lived on namely rice and lentils. –

9th This morning got under weigh at daylight and passed another of the six rapids from the island of Esheshe [Ishashi], the current being very strong were forced to call the natives to our assistance. Abou Cachief's [Abdin Cacheff] Kangia parted the rope in the falls but fortunately received no damage in the drift down. I went round the island and found it much larger than that of Rendi; it contains nine tolerable large villages and the inhabitants very civil and industrious. This day there fell some rain the first that has fallen since the commencement of the expedition.

10th This morning the sky overclouded sent the men down to get up two more of the boats that were left below the falls of yesterday At 1/2 past ten got under weigh and at length passed the island of Eshesha [Ishashi] having thus employed five days in overcoming these difficult and dangerous passes The river runs from this island about E N this days sail about 6 miles.

11th This morning very clear and serene but did not get under weigh until 8 o'clock as these people cook their victuals before they start. In passing a rapid called Ometete one of the boats was stove and we were forced to unload her and haul her up on the beach to repair the lower part of her stern and two planks being stove in. The river from this rapids runs about East.

12th The morning overclouded with an appearance of rain the Wind WNW and very cold weather, the people were unable to work the boat, taking refuge in groups round the fire. We were unable to sail before eleven being employed as soon as the sun became warm in getting up the Kangia and two other boats that had not been able to pass the last falls yesterday. About 4 miles above the rapids saw a castle very well built on a small island on the N. side of the river. It was called Dalga [Delgo] and was very remarkable in so desert a country. At 3 o'clock stopped at an island called Derbes [Dirbi], and sent some people ahead to find a passage for the boats which after some time we passed; these rapids are called Ruguptu-gamel [Raqabat el-Gamal, Ragabt El-Jamel].

March 15th The morning very fine with the wind at East but did not get under weigh till 1/2 past nine, as the people had gone down last night to bring up the boat we left behind for repairs. Passed the rapids of Monutuyour at 10 o'clock but not with some trouble the water being very shallow and the current strong. From thence warped up as far as the falls of Zuth-mar and with the assistance of the natives succeeded in passing the boats. We were retarded some time by the Kangia of the Abden cachief [Abdin Cacheff] which unfortunately got athward the current and narrowly escaped swamping by the carelessness of the people.

Abrihim-chouyous who has charge of the convoy told the men belonging to the Kangia that they ought to go and help their comrades, but the fellows displeased with his circumstance instead of obeying positively refused rose to strike him where upon the Couryoues called his people and punished the fellow as he deserved.

16th The morning very fine but the people would not stir until very late being unwilling to work – at 10 o'clock got under weigh and passed the rapids of Masumsasaban. All the boats did not get through until 4 o'clock. The people of the boat I was in not being willing to work the boat got some damage and began to make water. A man after repeatedly diving under her bottom found the leak which he stopped effectually with a knife and some tow – This same evening got past the rapids of Donkey [Humaar] though rather late.

18th This morning overclouded got under weigh at 1/2 past Seven and warped past island of Trck. Went on shore with the Chouores [Couryoues] a shooting but got nothing. Saw some of the inhabitants returning with their flocks to their homes which they had concealed in the mountains fearing the Turkish Soldiers would have taken them without paying for them. Had the good fortune to get some milk of these people which was very acceptable having lived now for eleven days on rice, beans, salt, and water and being almost starved.

This day passed the difficult rapids of Teneadba [Tunduba?]. At 12 o'clock a soldier arrived from the general camp to hasten the boats up, a fortunate circumstance for us as our situation was very deplorable. He made himself obeyed and obliging the people to exert themselves we passed the rapids of Almusen without the stoppages that had ensured in those we had already passed.

The island of Arich is very large. I compute its length not less than 38 miles and four miles broad in the broadest part, Surrounded by a great many small islands and ledges of rocks and seven rapids in the course of its length on the E side and as many on the west. It has 12 villages and the land very well cultivated, although it is not in abundance. From the island the river takes its course to the east, and having passed it the wind coming from the West set our sail for the first time for ten days.

March 19th The morning overclouded and threatening [sic] rain got under weigh at Six o'clock, the Soldier exerting his authority and making the people do their duty although unwillingly. A moderate breeze from the north. At Noon came to a passage of the river that we could not clear before three. It was between two very steep hills, one of the island of Afauce and the other on the main.

20th Got under Weigh at half past six the morning over clouded and blowing very fresh and very cold. – Sent one of the boats ahead with a Soldier to get the natives to assist in tracking the other boats, the crews being insufficient the wind having increased to a gale. At one o'clock the wind lulled although the sky did not clear

up and we made some way and passed the island of Oose [Us] together with the rapids of Oumrasoul [Umm Rasoul], of Waschan and Nuagara. The rapids of Nuagara are impossible when the river is very low, and they form the greatest fall of any I have seen on the river. –

21st the morning overclouded with an appearance of rain. Got under weigh at a quarter past seven. The chiefs of the island of Oose [Us] ordered their people to tow the boats [fig. 2], the boats crews being very tired having eaten nothing the preceding day. Went a shooting and killed five quails. They were very large, full as big as the partridges of Egypt and very good eating. –

22nd The morning very fine got under weigh at 1/2 past five. The chief cap of the boats arrived from the camp below. Went to see the island of Saour [Sur] and found it one of the largest from Cairo up to Berber. At the upper end of the island opposite to a small village situated on the main land is a large town with one temple called Caabu built of black granite, the town is of hewn stone, the greater part of the walls which were very strong are still remaining. Marked Mr. Salt's name on five colossal figures of men and upon three lions, also marked his name on a tomb about two miles from the temple on the island of Sheraeve [Sherari or Shariif], which I imagine must have been the tomb of the king of the country as there are three pyramids around it in ruins. I took a brick from the place where there are many more.



Fig. 2. Semme Pulling the Boats. Cailliaud 1826.

March 24th The morning very fine got under weigh at Seven O'clock leaving the three large boats behind to be tracked up by the natives. We were now clear of the uppermost large island and had at last the main land to walk upon on the SSE side of the river. The names of these islands the four largest in the river from Meroe to Berber are Saour [Sur], Sherrere [Sherari or El-shireeg], Sheer [Shirri] and Kiter. The river takes its course from hence to the eastward winding gradually to the Southward, the country being likewise to open and to be tolerably fertile quitting the desert mountains with which we had been surrounded for so many days.

26th The morning clear & serene. Got under weigh at Six o'clock the country looked beautiful – crops of wheat and barley almost ripe with date trees in abundance. The first we had seen for two hundred miles. The river runs this day about EbS with the wind ESE the fist time we have had the wind from that quarter. At one o'clock came to a small island called Amdoes [Um Doom] well cultivated with three houses upon it, beyond this is the island of Maseaul where the river turns short to the WNW for about 27 miles, and then returns to the Eastward leaving the island of Maseaul, the Southern Side of the reach is a bare desert, and the whole distance interspersed with many small islands without names. – Warped about 13 miles today.

28th This day parted at Six o'clock but unable to procure any of the natives to track the boats there being no villages near. Came to the mountains of Geregenee [Kulgeli] where the river takes its course to the NbE. The chain of mountains run North & South.

29th We did not get under weigh until 8 o'clock being obliged to wait the arrival of the natives to track the boats. Two men belonging to the convoy run away last night, the work too hard for them.

30th March Cloudy morning with the fog so thick that we were unable to see across the river. An unusual sight in this country. Got under weigh at 8 o'clock. The chief of the country having heard that the soldiers would take every thing from Him ran away with the people, and in consequence we were unable to obtain any assistance in tracking the boats. Entered the province of Mougrat [Mokrat] the rapids at this place are trifling when the water is low, there being at that period four passes and the current not running very strong; but they must be very difficult when the river is full a chain of rocks running entirely across. The island of Mougrat [Mokrat] is at the upper part of these falls, it is of a triangular form, fertile and well cultivated. When the river is low there is no water on its SE side.

31st The morning very clear and serene. Sent the crew down to get up a large boat that was left behind yesterday. This detained us likewise as the chief officer having ordered us to proceed in company for fear of accidents. At Nine the natives came to track the boat and we got underway. I find the rapids of Mougiat [Mokrat] longer than I imagined, as we did not get more than halfway through them this day. We

were delayed some time in a clearing one of passes of a large tree that lain across it. This we effected by fastening a large rope to it and dragging it down the river. These rapids which are about 13 miles in length and above them the river runs EbS. On the island of Mougrat [Mokrat] are two large temples and cities, one called Mellet-caros and the other Esh-quabee. There are two very singular mountains at the extremity of the island, the main one on the W the other on the SE side of the river the latter called Abdoulout the former Nezerup.

They had made it through the Fourth Cataract. The island of Mokrat was opposite Abu Hamid, at the northern most reaches of the great S-curve. In later years it would be a major railhead, as the train from Wadi Halfa would cross the desert directly to Abu Hamid, avoiding most of the journey along the Nile. Khalil, despite the *protomedico's* efforts, was still alive. The Fifth Cataract lay ahead. He would survive that journey too.

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*From Incidents of Travel in Greece,
Turkey, Russia and Poland*
by John Lloyd Stephens

(New York 1838, vol. 1, pp. 203–04)

On my return from Ephesus I heard of the arrival in Smyrna of two American travellers, father and son, from Egypt; and the same day, at Mr. Langdon's, I met the father, Dr. N. of Mississippi. The doctor had made a long and interesting tour in Egypt and the Holy Land, interrupted, however, by a severe attack of ophthalmia on the Nile, from which he had not yet recovered, and a narrow escape from the plague at Cairo. He was about fifty-five, of a strong, active, and inquiring mind; and the circumstances which had brought him to that distant country were so peculiar, that I cannot help mentioning them. He had passed all his life on the banks of the Mississippi, and for many years had busied himself with speculations in regard to the creation of the world. Year after year he had watched the deposits and the formation of soil on the banks of the Mississippi, had visited every mound and mountain indicating any peculiar geological formation, and, unable to find any data to satisfy him, he started from his plantation directly for the banks of the Nile. He possessed all the warm, high-toned feelings of the Southerner, but a thorough contempt for the usages of society and everything like polish of manners. He came to New York and embarked for Havre. He had never been even to New York before; was utterly ignorant of any language but his own; despised all foreigners, and detested their "jabber." He worked his way to Marseilles with the intention of embarking for Alexandria, but was taken sick, and retraced his steps directly to his plantation on the Mississippi. Recovering, he again set out for the Nile the next year, accompanied by his son, a young man of about twenty-three,

acquainted with foreign languages, and competent to profit by foreign travel. This time he was more successful, and, when I saw him, he had rambled over the Pyramids and explored the ruined temples of Egypt. The result of his observations had been to fortify his preconceived notions, that the age of this world far exceeds six thousand years. Indeed, he was firmly persuaded that some of the temples of the Nile were built more than six thousand years ago. He had sent on to Smyrna enormous boxes of earth and stones, to be shipped to America, and was particularly curious on the subject of trees, having examined and satisfied himself as to the age of the olive-trees in the Garden of Gethsemane and the cedars of Lebanon.

An American Tourist in 1839: Philip Rhinelander Visits the Mediterranean

Andrew Oliver

On 20 February 1839 a young American named Philip Rhinelander purchased in Rome a blank notebook in which he would record a trip he was about to take to the eastern Mediterranean. He began writing four days later:

Today I leave fair Italia to visit Eastern lands. A week ago I had thought to have sailed from this same harbor with my face turned towards home. But now instead of diminishing I increase the number of miles which are to separate me from my father-land. How true is it that we cannot tell what a day may bring forth. We are all creatures of circumstances. No one can presume to say in one month from this time I shall be in any given place or that I will do so and so. (24 February)

With this somewhat precious language Rhinelander began a 130-page daily diary recording his travels to Athens, Egypt, Smyrna (Izmir) and Constantinople (Istanbul).

Philip Rhinelander was born in 1815, the son of Philip and Mary Rhinelander and a descendant of Philip Jacob Rhinelander, who arrived in New Rochelle, New York, in 1686, a year after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (which declared Protestantism illegal in France). In 1818, the same year that his sister Mary was born, his mother died at the age of 22; their father died in 1830. Both children were then looked after by a younger brother of their father, John R. Rhinelander, a professor of medicine at the Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons. In 1831 Philip entered Columbia College, then located in southern Manhattan, opposite City Hall Park; he was one of 23 members of the class of 1834. At some point, perhaps on graduating from Columbia, he had his portrait painted – an oil-on-paper miniature showing him in formal dress, wearing glasses, with a dark moustache and a light beard (Pike and Armstrong 1981, 179, no. 207).

In 1838, four years after leaving Columbia, Rhineland set out on what was to be a year-long European tour. From his diary we know that he visited Paris, London, Venice, Rome and Naples. In February 1839 he decided to extend his trip to Greece, Egypt and Turkey rather than returning home from Havre, as he had intended to do. The decision was to cost him his life.

Rhineland's diary records that he had four travelling companions, but where he met them and how long he had been travelling with them before setting out for the East is not known. Two of them, John Ireland Tucker and Samuel H. Whitlock, younger graduates of Columbia College (class of 1837), had set out together from New York on 1 May 1838 (Nevins and Thomas 1952, 85). Tucker also kept a journal, sections of which, overlapping part of Rhineland's diary, were published in 1897 (Knauff 1897, 37–97). The remaining two companions were Henry Augustus Cram, a New Yorker and a graduate of Princeton University (class of 1837, with an 1839 LLB degree from Harvard Law School), and Robert Fleming, a southerner probably from Charleston, South Carolina.

FROM MALTA TO GREECE

Rhineland reached Malta on 27 February, travelling on the French *paquebot* *Minos*; she was making the run there from Marseille via Civit  Vecchia, where he boarded ship. The *Minos* was one of the ten French steamers that plied three Mediterranean routes, as Rhineland himself says, between Marseilles, Malta, Syria, Alexandria, Smyrna and Constantinople. Seven of the ten, built to the same design in 1836, had four officers, a crew of 32 men, and carried up to 26 passengers (Bajot and Poir  1837, 623–24; Bois 1992, 162–63). Among the amenities on each boat was a small stock of books and a piano. During his tour, Rhineland and his friends took passage on five of the packets: the *Minos*, the *Lycurque*, the *Mentor* (twice), the *Leonidas* and the *Scamandre*. After stopping over for a day on Malta, on 28 February he and his friends boarded the *Lycurque* for the Greek island of Syra (Syros), then a hub of steamer routes, from which they doubled back to Piraeus and Athens.

Greece had only recently won independence from the Ottoman Empire, and despite help rendered by the United States during the War of Independence (1821–29), American visitors to Greece after the war were few: between 1830 and 1838, the year before Rhineland's visit, only 24 Americans are known to have visited the country, not counting resident missionaries and officers on shore leave from the United States Mediterranean Squadron. Rhineland and his friends were thus among the earliest American tourists in independent Greece. On the day of their arrival, 5 March, Rhineland wrote that he 'met Evangeles, known in New York as the Greek Boy. He knew Tucker and Whitlock

and glad to see old friends he undertook to show us all worthy of notice in Athens.' As a 12-year old orphan and refugee from the Massacre of Chios, Christopher Evangeles had been brought to New York in 1828 by Peter Vandervoort, had lived with Samuel Ward, the father of Julia Ward Howe, had been celebrated by William Cullen Bryant as 'the Greek boy' in his 1828 poem of that name, and had been painted in Greek costume by Samuel F. B. Morse (Staiti 1989, 131, pl. X). After graduating from Columbia – he was a year ahead of Tucker and Whitlock – Christy, as his friends knew him, returned to Greece to teach school on the island of Syra.

With their Greek classmate as guide, Rhinelanders and his friends toured the well-known archaeological ruins of Athens, including the temple of Olympian Zeus, the Tower of the Winds and the Acropolis. There they saw the recently reconstructed temple of Athena Nike, the Erechtheion and the Parthenon (including the mosque within it, then still standing and used as a museum). One afternoon, they rode on horseback to Eleusis and Megara, and to the Bay of Salamis.

On another day they met American Episcopalian missionaries, the Reverend and Mrs John H. Hill, and visited the Hills' school, located within the then-unexcavated Roman Agora. At the edge of town they saw under construction the royal palace, designed by the German architect Friedrich Gaertner, as well as the two-story cottage being used temporarily as the palace. (In May 1832, under the auspices of France, Great Britain and Russia, Otto, the younger son of the Bavarian King Ludwig, had been named King of the Hellenes.) Rhinelanders had an eye for pretty girls, and in one of the cottage windows he glimpsed the queen, the former Marie-Frédérique-Amélie, Princess of Oldenbourg, who had married Otto in 1836. He was more captivated, however, by the daughter of Markos Bozzaris, a hero of the Greek Revolution who was killed in action in 1823 – namely the 19-year old Katharina Bozzari, whose allure is so evident in her portraits (Baumstark 1999, 444–46, no. 295). Other visitors to Greece, including Hans Christian Andersen, who saw her in 1841, also remarked on her radiant beauty and fell in love with her (Andersen 1871, 184 and 193).

INTRODUCTION TO EGYPT

In the evening of 10 March the Americans left Piraeus on the steamer *Mentor*, bound for Syra, where they lay over for a day before picking up another ship to Alexandria. Reaching the city on 15 March, Rhinelanders experienced, as all travellers arriving in Alexandria did, the cacophony and confusion of the landing: 'We were greeted with the shrieks and cries of boys and men, who with vociferations loud pressed upon us the use of their donkeys, even wading forth

into the water to meet us.' A year earlier the Reverend Edward Robinson, a biblical archaeologist from New York, had had a similar experience (Robinson 1841, vol. 1, 20), and ten years later Gustave Flaubert, writing to his mother, gave the classic account of landing in Alexandria, the first exposure of so many Westerners to the East (Flaubert 1973, 528; Steegmuller 1972, 29).

Alexandria was a major Mediterranean port, and by 1839 hosted consuls and consular agents representing the interests of France, England, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Spain, Sweden, Sicily, Sardinia, Tuscany, Holland, Belgium, Denmark and the United States. Many of the embassies were located in the newly laid-out grand square, known to the French as the *place des consuls* (Pallini 2005, 41, fig. 1). The American Consul, a former English merchant named John Gliddon, gave Rhinelander and his friends 'much useful advice and information'; through him, for instance, was arranged passage on a boat from Alexandria to Cairo. Rhinelander described the Hotel d'Europe, where he stayed, as being 'situated in the grand square, a large open space surrounded by fine buildings generally occupied by consuls, whose several flags displayed quite a gay appearance' (15 March).

Into this mix of locals and foreign ambassadors there came annually thousands of merchants; agents doing business with the Egyptian pasha (principally French, Italians and British); members of the English military establishment bound for India; and tourists. Americans, whether tourists or individuals engaged in other business, were a tiny fraction of the total. In the two decades preceding Rhinelander's trip more than a hundred Americans are known to have visited Egypt, some seeing only Alexandria and Cairo, others going up the Nile. Some were officers on shore leave off ships of the Mediterranean squadron, several were missionaries on the way elsewhere, three were diplomats on tour, and two were southern planters looking into Egyptian cotton. Some were in Egypt on business, including one Mellen Chamberlain, who in 1839 was on a mission from Samuel F. B. Morse to demonstrate the newly invented telegraph (Bektas 2001, 207–11); Chamberlain was travelling with Charles R. Swords (class of 1829 at Columbia), and a William Bennett of Charleston.

Beginning in 1830, rich young gentlemen in their twenties from Boston, New York, Baltimore, and Charleston came to Egypt as genuine tourists; many of those from New York were Columbia College graduates. Wives and children were rare. After spending up to a year in Europe, the more adventurous Americans made for the eastern Mediterranean. They travelled either clockwise from Vienna, down the Danube to Constantinople, to Smyrna, the Holy Land, Egypt and Greece, or counterclockwise, leaving Europe from Marseille, Leghorn or Naples and ending up via the Danube in Vienna. Some, such as John Lloyd Stephens, also included Russia in their itineraries.

Most of the American tourists are merely names in the period before 1840,

for few of them published accounts of their Egyptian experiences. The books by John Lloyd Stephens (1837) and Sarah Haight (1840) are the exceptions; so too is the 1832 newspaper article by John T. Kirkland, a former president of Harvard, which was published in the *Christian Register*, and two 1839 accounts, one by the wife of Aaron Smith Willington (publisher of the *Charleston Courier*) sent to the *Charleston Courier*, the other by an anonymous American tourist published in *The New-York Mirror*. Surely, most American tourists kept diaries, yet few are known today. In addition to Rhinelander's, there exist only the unpublished diaries of Mendes Cohen (in the Maryland Historical Society), John W. Hamersley (in private hands), John Lowell (in the Boston Athenaeum), Mrs Horatio Allen (in the Charleston Library Society), and Henry B. Humphrey (in the Massachusetts Historical Society).

The 1830s were politically interesting times to travel in Egypt. Muhammad Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, was a major Mediterranean figure, with his military conquests, his business ventures and his diplomatic negotiations with the Sultan and various European Consuls General. In this period the British were establishing an infrastructure to assure protected passage to India, and entrepreneurs were opening hotels in Alexandria, Cairo and Suez, and in Kossier, a port on the Red Sea, for the benefit of the hundreds of British officers and their families travelling to and from India. The British Bombay marines took Aden by force in January 1839 to forestall intimidation of shipping to India at the entrance to the Red Sea. The preferred route in the late 1830s ran from Alexandria, along the Mahmoudiyah canal from Rosetta to the Nile, up the Nile to Boulac, the port of Cairo, and from Cairo across the desert to Suez. Rhinelander was well aware of this traffic: in his diary entry for 1 April he wrote, 'the overland passage to India has flooded the country with Englishmen, no fewer than eight hundred persons having crossed the desert to Suez within the last nine months.' An earlier route took one up the Nile to Quneh (just north of Luxor) and across the eastern desert to Kossier. Many Nile tourists in this period were in fact British military officers, such as William Fenwick Williams of the Royal Artillery and P. C. Trench of the Bengal Civil Service; they cut their names at Medinet Habu at Thebes in 1839, the very year of Rhinelander's visit, in the course of sightseeing on the old route by way of Kossier (Keersmaecker 2006, 34).

ALEXANDRIA TO ASWAN AND BACK

This was the Egypt Rhinelander and his friends encountered. In Cairo they went to the baths, witnessed a local wedding, visited the bazaars and toured the citadel. They called on the American Consul George Gliddon, son of the Alexandria consul, John Gliddon, who told stories of his American tour, even drawing

attention to horns of a deer he had obtained from Elm Lake in the Adirondacks (where Rhinelander's father had built a house and where Rhinelander had once lived). Either here or in Alexandria, Rhinelander's four companions, but not he himself, signed the Gliddons' consular register.

From Gliddon they chartered a 40-ton Nile riverboat, the *Americana*, with a *reis* (captain), a pilot or steersman, and a crew of 16 (twice the normal crew); in addition, they brought along a cook and a servant. Sarah Haight of New York, who with her husband Richard Haight had chartered the very same boat from Gliddon two years earlier, gives a fuller description than does Rhinelander ([Haight] 1840, vol. 1, 158–59).

Like all tourists on the Nile, Rhinelander and his friends flew the national flag. In 1832 the Baltimorean Mendes Cohen had an American flag made for him by an Arab servant from material purchased in Manfalout. It still survives, with its paper stars, in Baltimore. In 1836 John Lloyd Stephens had a local tailor in Cairo make his ([Stephens] 1837, vol. 1, 53). Late in 1839, Henry Humphrey reports in his diary that his fellow Bostonian George Sumner took him to a tailor by whom Sumner had earlier had one made. Rhinelander does not say where his group obtained theirs; an Egyptian tailor is a good guess.

For his Nile journey Rhinelander decided to adopt local dress. After arriving in Alexandria, he had his head shaved and purchased a *tarbouche*, a red cloth cap with a blue silk tassel, which was worn over a white skull cap. In the Cairo bazaars he bought several suits of Turkish clothes, and after several days on the Nile he made the switch:

I now put on for the first time my costume which I had bought in Cairo. It is the Nazim or regenerated dress of the Turk. It consists of wide pants gathered round the waist in thick folds, which hang a little below the knees, from thence downward they are tight fitting close to the leg, like a gaiter. ... My vest is of rich silk and over this is worn a large jacket with sleeves open to the elbow. Around my waist is wound a sash of crimson silk which passes round and round in many folds, it being six yards in length. In this I bear my arms, pistol and knife. On my head I wear the *tarbouche*, and on my feet are the double Turkish slippers. ... I might almost pass for a real Turk, were it not for my specs. ... (20 March)

How a European dressed in Egypt was debated at the time and is noted in discussions today (Nickel 2004, 149–69). On his arrival in Cairo in 1821, Gardner Wilkinson was taken to buy Turkish clothes. Later, in his 1843 *Modern Egypt*, Wilkinson qualified the appropriateness of native clothes for Europeans: 'If the traveller inquires whether the Turkish dress be necessary, I answer, for Upper Egypt, it is by no means so; for Cairo it is convenient from not attracting notice either of dogs or men' (Wilkinson 1843, vol. 1, 100). Earlier, the English officer C. Rochfort Scott, who travelled in 1833, wrote (Scott 1837, vol. 1, 50):

With respect to a travelling dress, the Turkish, or rather Nizam, which is a variation of it, is that which is generally recommended; but, I must confess, that after some personal experience in the matter, I would strongly advise travellers to save themselves the expense of buying, and the bore of wearing, this cumbersome attire.

In the end, a combination of convenience and the desire to act out a fantasy away from home must have determined the decision of most travellers.

Rhinelanders and his friends began their cruise upriver on 24 March, stopping briefly at Thebes on 2 April, Esna on the 3rd, El Kab on the 4th and Kom Ombo on the 6th. They reached Aswan on 7 April, visiting Philae and the island of Elephantine on the 8th. On their way down river they visited Edfu, Hermonthis, and the ruins on both banks of the river at Luxor and Thebes – Karnak and the Luxor temple on the east bank, the Valley of the Kings, the Colossus of Memnon, the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu on the west. They left Thebes on the evening of 14 April and downriver visited Dendera on the 15th, Beni Hassan on the 23rd, and other towns lacking ruins that they had passed without stopping on the way upriver.

On the Nile they encountered other European tourists. 'Almost every day', Rhinelanders wrote on 1 April, 'one encounters the flags of France and England.' On 29 March, near Manfaloot, they conversed with a group in a French boat: this must have been the party of Eusèbe de Salle, coming downstream at that very place on that day (Salle 1840, vol. 2, 159–60). On 4 April they passed two boats with English flags. On 23 April Rhinelanders writes of a party of Englishmen, Mr. Hatfield and Lord Hamilton, whose boat had been attacked at Beni Hassan earlier in the winter, and notes that one of the men (apparently a member of the crew) had been killed. Hamilton was Lord Claude Hamilton (1813–84), who entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1832 and kept a journal (whereabouts not known) of his Mediterranean tour (Damer 1841, vol. 1, 42–43). Hatfield was Jonathan Hatfield, a wealthy Manchester bachelor living in Naples (Treuhertz 1983, 112–14). They saw no other Americans on the Nile.

Rhinelanders reported (28 March) that 'we have passed several boats laden with a human cargo; black Nubian slaves, huddled together, disgusting filthy objects were being borne to the market of Cairo'. Other tourists reported similar encounters. In the late 1830s the number of slaves brought downriver under terrible conditions by Turkish and even some French traffickers from Sennar and Darfur in Sudan was in the range of 10,000 annually (Mowafi 1981, 32–35). Rhinelanders visited the slave markets in both Alexandria and Cairo, commenting in Alexandria 'that the slave market is a sight of filth and abominations, far beyond anything which I could have conceived' (15 March). In Cairo, where he thought the slave market less disgusting, he noted Abyssinian women of olive complexion, 'not having seen a European woman for more than two months,

these looked quite pretty. They were cheap too, only two thousand piasters, about one hundred dollars being demanded for the fairest, but... I was not tempted to buy a wife' (29 April). Some foreign residents and European tourists, among them, for example, the landscape gardener Prince Pückler-Muskau (1844, 244) in 1837, actually purchased female slaves as concubines – hence Rhinelander's remark.

On their first day back in Cairo, on 27 April, Rhinelander and his friends visited the great pyramid. He says (4 and 27 April) that he wrote his name on the monuments in Egypt only twice: in one of the tombs at El Kab and on the top of the great pyramid; in neither place is his name preserved today. At Karnak, he noted the Hights' names: *R. K. Haight and Lady / New York USA 1836*. That inscription is still visible (fig. 1). On subsequent days they visited Heliopolis, the citadel of Cairo, the mint, the tombs of the Caliphs, the tombs of the Mamluke Sultans, the mosque of Sultan Hassan, the slave market, the Pasha's railroad, the military school at Toura, the Pasha's stables and the winter gardens at Shubra. On another day they saw the newly formed Egyptian library, courtesy of Dr Abbott, and a day later Abbott entertained them with a Turkish-style dinner. Henry Abbott (1799–1859), a former ship's surgeon in the Royal Navy, served with the title 'Doctor' in Muhammad Ali's fleet and formed a collection

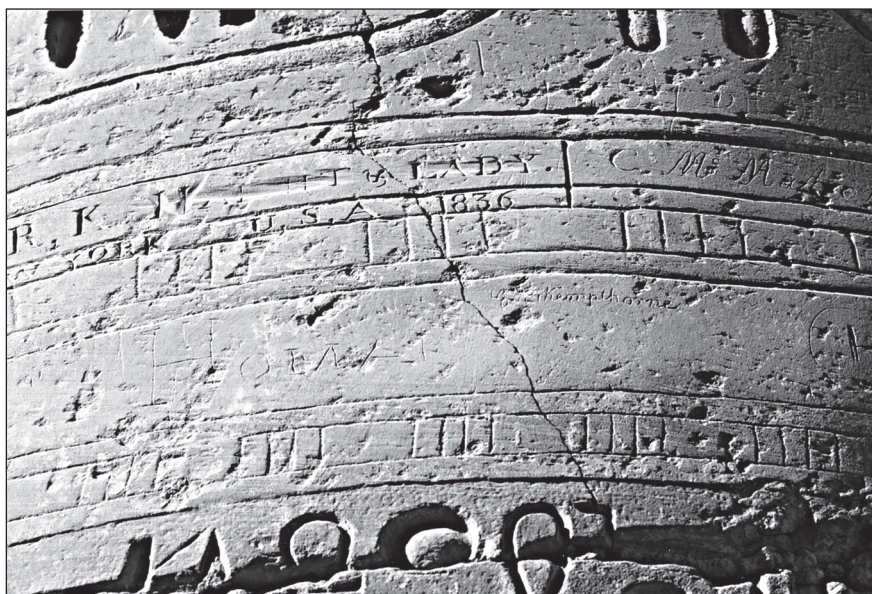


Fig. 1. Graffiti on great column no. 1 in the hypostyle at Karnak: R. K. Haight and Lady/New York USA 1836. Photo © Roger de Keersmaecker (1153).

of antiquities from Egypt and elsewhere that was acquired by the New-York Historical Society in 1860 and transferred to the Brooklyn Museum in 1937. The young men had a séance with the Great Magician, whose fame, Rhinelander said, had even reached America (Lane 1895, 276–84).

On 15 May the five Americans returned to Alexandria. Unable to get rooms at the Hotel de l'Europe, where they had stayed when first in the city, they 'found accommodations at Mr. Hill's establishment which is pleasantly situated without the city among the palms and flowers'. There an English couple, returning home from India, encountered them. The published account of their journey is anonymous, but the author must be Peter Cator, a barrister working in India from 1825 to around 1846, who was a member of the family that owned Blackheath Park, mentioned in the book's introduction. In any event, there we read what appears to be the only mention of Rhinelander and his friends by a fellow traveller: 'The Pasha was an object of particular interest to a party of young American gentlemen who left our hotel in the morning in the hope of seeing his highness in divan' ([Cator] 1841, 95). On 16 May, in Alexandria, Rhinelander wrote in his diary, 'Mehemet Ali is now in Alexandria, but as our stay is short we cannot be presented. ...We however saw him seated in a window giving audience to one of the European Consuls. He is a venerable old man, with a flowing grey beard.' This is just how the artist David Roberts had pictured the pasha when he and the British Consul Patrick Campbell had had an audience with him a few days earlier, on 12 May (Roberts 1848, pl. 1; Mancoff 1999, 105, pl. 5:16).

ALEXANDRIA TO CONSTANTINOPLE

From Alexandria, Rhinelander 'shipped to Smyrna, thence to be sent to America, all the curiosities which I have collected during my stay in Egypt' (16 May). These included a Nubian club, spears, a shield of crocodile skin, and the complete dress of a Nubian damsel with her jewellery, all ethnographic items; there were no antiquities. On 17 May he and his friends embarked on the French packet *Leonidas* for Syra. Among their fellow passengers, Rhinelander reported, was Antoine Barthelemy Clot Bey, the French medical official appointed Surgeon-in-Chief by Mehmet Ali in 1823 and given the title Bey in 1831. 'He has in his suite quite a menagerie, consisting of a noble lion, a gazelle, an ibex, birds of various kinds, &c.' Clot Bey wrote in his memoirs for that day, 'Je quittai Alexandrie de 17 mai 1839', without mentioning his menagerie (Clot 1949, 332).

On Syra, the Americans learned that owing to an outbreak of plague in Alexandria they could not change ships for Smyrna and instead were obliged to

undergo quarantine. The plague (in this case cholera) had struck Alexandria devastatingly in 1831 and had reached New York with a high mortality rate in 1832, at which time Philip's uncle, Dr John Rhineland, had written the principal accounts of it for the newspapers. Given the appalling reputation of the lazaretto in Syra they opted to transfer to the one in Piraeus, where they arrived on 22 May. There, Rhineland wrote that 'all the English and American prisoners have formed a club, and having hired a saloon we take our meals together. ... we have persuaded a restaurateur and a servant to put themselves in quarantine to wait on us during the day'. With them was John Caldecott, Astronomer Royal to the Rajah of Travancore, whom they had seen in Cairo; a Russian named Moulkhim; and Messrs Robinson and Hatfield (the latter previously seen on the Nile).

Confined to the lazaretto and with time for contemplation, Rhineland wrote some of the few remarks to be found in his diary that express his own feelings.

Can man ever be perfectly happy? I who have every earthly blessing, still feel in my soul a longing after something still unpossessed, and this is Sympathy. I have health and youth and of wealth a competence, light spirits and a glad heart, but still I enjoy all of this alone. There is no heart, here at least, which beats in unison with mine, none that shares my pleasures. These are all my own alone, and even at home it is much the same. Even there I suffer from the absence of any motive for exertion and pass my days in listlessness and inactivity. Where there are none to praise or blame, man knows not his own powers. (26 May)

Ten days of quarantine over in Piraeus, they returned to Syra whence they took passage on the French packet *Scamandre* for Smyrna. Arriving on a Sunday, 2 June, the group called on the American consul David W. Offley and went to the hotel of Madame Rosa, on the way to which they admired the beautiful young Greek girls standing in their doorways. Thwarted in their attempt to visit Ephesus owing to lack of horses, threat of malaria and perhaps timidity, they wandered in the bazaars, visited a Turkish burial ground, and were guided around the local sites by the resident American missionaries.

After a week in Smyrna, Rhineland and his friends left for Constantinople on an Austrian steamer of the Danube line. This was the *Maria Dorothea*, built by the Danube Steam Company in 1834 for service between Trieste and Constantinople, and which began that year a round-trip run once a week between Stamboul and Smyrna with an English captain, John Ford. In the Sea of Marmora, on Monday, 10 June, Rhineland witnessed a naval deployment, the significance of which he understood.

Passed part of the fleet of the Sultan under sail towards the Dardanelles, probably with a view of joining the rest of the naval power at Gallipoli, and thence to put

to sea and chastise the refractory pasha of Egypt. This portion of the fleet consists of three ships of the line, three frigates, four smaller vessels, and two steamers. The giant ship Marmoudie, said to be the largest in the world, sailed in this division.

The long-simmering dispute between the Sultan and Mehmet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, which had begun in 1831 and 1832 when Mehmet Ali had invaded and occupied Syria, became critical in the spring of 1839. On 21 April the Ottoman army invaded Syria, only to be defeated by the Egyptians two months later. On 9 June, the day before Rhinelander saw it, the Turkish fleet had left Constantinople bound for the Dardanelles, where it was to stay before receiving orders to proceed to Alexandria (Anderson 1952, 553). The Sultan's fleet did indeed ultimately sail to Alexandria, but on arrival, instead of chastising Mehmet Ali, notoriously defected to him.

Rhinelanders and his friends landed in Constantinople in the afternoon of 10 June. Americans were relative newcomers to a city that European diplomats, merchants and travellers had known for centuries. Nevertheless, more than 30 years of American contacts and enterprises preceded Rhinelander's visit: merchants and even a few tourists came in the 1810s and 1820s; in the mid-1820s negotiations by the US Department of State led to the appointment of David Porter as Chargé d'Affaires in 1831. The American missionary William Goodell and his family arrived the same year. As soon as diplomatic relations were established, Henry Eckford, a naval architect, was engaged to help augment the Sultan's fleet (Finnie 1967, 45–111).

On arrival, Rhinelander and the others found lodgings at Mademoiselle Roboli's place in Pera, opposite the burned-out ruins of the French Embassy, down a side street off what John Tucker, in his diary, called Frank St., namely the Grand Rue de Pera, today Istiklal Caddesi. In August 1831, eight years before their visit, a fire had ravaged much of Pera, the European quarter, burning the embassies of France, England, Holland, Russia and Spain. The first stone for the new French embassy had been laid on 1 May 1839, just before their arrival (Casa 1995, 37). Through William N. Churchill, an Englishman and former US consular agent, active in the 1830s, they received letters from home and obtained tickets for a performance at the local Turkish theatre. There they saw *The Opium Eater* and *The Barber*, two farces that Rhinelander thought in poor taste: he walked out on the second one. They called on the American missionaries John J. Robertson and William Goodell and presented themselves at the American consulate. David Porter was away, but they availed themselves of the services of John Porter Brown, his nephew, who acted as a dragoman for many visiting Americans.

In Constantinople they spent three weeks making the rounds of the usual

tourist sites: the Byzantine ruins, the bazaars and Ottoman mosques in Stamboul, the Genoese tower in Galata, the Armenian cemetery in Pera and, across the Bosphorus, the cemetery in Scutari. They attended performances of the Howling Dervishes of Scutari and the Mevlevi twirling Dervishes of Pera. One Friday they were rowed up the Bosphorus on the Asiatic side to see the ailing Sultan disembark and enter a mosque. In the crowd they saw Prince George, Duke of Cambridge (a grandson of King George III), and Prince Pückler-Muskau, whom Rhinelander considered a blackguard. In Pückler-Muskau's own account of this event, a version of which was published in a New York periodical, he reports that he forgot to remove his hat at the approach of the Sultan, which may account for Rhinelander's poor opinion of him (Pückler-Muskau 1840).

The young men visited Hagia Sophia by joining the entourage of Prince George, who had obtained a *firman* granting him and all companions entry to the mosque. Among the train of tourists was Henry Herbert (1800–49), third Earl of Carnarvon. Rhinelander also met the New York ship builder Foster Rhodes (successor to Henry Eckford), witnessed the launching of a steamer Rhodes had built for the Sultan, dined with him, and took a sail in his cutter.

TO VIENNA

On 1 July, after nearly three weeks in the city, the five Americans left on the first leg of the month-long trip to Vienna, sailing on the *Ferdinando Primo*, an Austrian steam vessel of the Danube Company captained by an Englishman, Jack Everson. Service was available at two-week intervals, June through August. After a month of travel, including ten days of quarantine at Orsova (all recorded in Tucker's diary), their servant and two young English gentlemen travelling with them, Mssrs Thring and Rawnsley, became ill with bilious colic. Tucker and Rhinelander were also unwell, suffering headaches and loss of appetite.

Becoming sick on the Danube was not unique to this group. The year before, on 13 August 1838, the New York biblical archaeologist Edward Robinson and Eli Smith left Constantinople for the Danube. By the time they reached Vienna they and two fellow passengers were seriously ill; Robinson nearly died (Robinson 1841, vol. III, 350–51).

After arriving in Vienna on 5 August, Rhinelander and his friends did business and toured the city, though Tucker and Rhinelander were laid up most of the time with chills and headaches. They both summoned physicians. On the 9th, Tucker said he had been so sick with a raging headache that the chambermaid had sat up all night applying ice to his head every five minutes. This continued for the next two days, 10 and 11 August. Tucker's diary for 11 August reads as follows:

At nine o'clock Rhinelander was much better; at two o'clock he was much altered for the worse; he became extremely enervated and ill. The physician was sent for. He was much astonished when he saw his patient, and hurrying into my room, with his face flushed, asked, 'Is he a Catholic?' At first, I did not perceive his meaning, but afterwards I soon perceived that my poor friend was just hovering between life and death. At four o'clock, he was still much more enervated; another physician was called in. The disease had changed to cholera, and poor Phil's life was despaired of. We inquired for a Protestant clergyman: in this gay city, not one was to be found, who spoke English. One of our English friends, Thring, kindly volunteered to read the 'Service for the Visitation of the Sick', in which my poor friend entered with much interest. I was anxious to leave my bed, and visit my sick friend, but it was forbidden. He sent me messages to his friends, which I was obliged to commit to Cram, in consequence of my inability to write. He lingered until nine o'clock, in great agony and anxious for death. He said 'he was happy' and that 'he loved his sister'. At nine o'clock, he calmly died away.

He was buried in Vienna two days later. The *New York Evening Post* of 24 September 1839 carried an obituary: 'Vienna Aug 12 Philip Rhinelander of NY in 24y s. late Philip Rhinelander of this city'.

Rhinelanders' friends continued travelling. Fleming and Cram came home first: United States immigration records indicate that they arrived back in New York together on 9 December 1839 from Havre, on the ship *Silvie de Grasse*. Whitlock and Tucker remained abroad for a longer period: they arrived home on 14 April 1840 from Havre on the ship *Poland*.

What of their subsequent careers? I have been unable to trace Fleming. Whitlock became a lawyer; Columbia University archives and other sources record that he died in 1856. Cram also practised law in New York, was married in 1849, had seven children (two of whom became great friends of the novelist Edith Wharton), and had his portrait painted by John Singer Sargent in 1893, the year before his death (Ormand and Kilmurray 2002, 72, no. 292). Tucker graduated in 1844 from General Theological Seminary in New York, was ordained an Episcopal priest, and in 1859 was called to be rector of a church in Troy, New York. When he died unmarried in 1895, his papers were left to St. Stephen's College in Annandale on Hudson, now Bard College, but his manuscript diaries, excerpts of which were published shortly after his death, are not to be found in the library there. Rhinelander's sister Mary married John A. King Jr., who administered Rhinelander's estate and whose father was elected governor of New York in 1856. Rhinelander himself disappeared from the record until his diary turned up in the New York book trade in 1978; it is now in my possession. His portrait miniature, owned by a collateral descendent, was published in 1981 and was

brought to my attention by Jeanne Rhineland, whose husband, John Rhineland, is a member of the same well-known family. Doubtless additional information remains to be discovered.

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From *Journey through Greece
and the Ionian Islands in June,
July and August, 1821*
by Dr Christian Müller

(London 1822, pp. 4–5)

LETTER III

Zante, July

It was my intention to have proceeded hence to Patrass, there to embark again for the isthmus, and go to Corinth, and then sail from the other side of the isthmus to the neighbouring Piraeus. This plan, undertaken with a little spirit, I thought completely feasible, since it had been unanimously reported, in Italy and Sicily, that Athens, with its castle, had long since fallen in the hands of the Greeks.

I now learnt in Zante, from the report of French and English travellers, as well as from the Greeks themselves, that it would be impossible to take this route. I was told that the fort of Patrass was still in the hands of the Turks, the city being reduced to a heap of ruins, and that sailing, in the Gulf of Lepanto, was very dangerous, owing to the Greek and Turkish pirates by which the gulf was infested; furthermore, that it would be very hazardous to cross the isthmus, on account of the Turkish and Greek banditti roving about there. It would also be very difficult to find any shipping at Kenkeri, on the other side of the isthmus, for Salamis or Athens, all trade and communication being stopped. But if I should even succeed in conquering all these difficulties and reach Athens, I should find the town almost entirely abandoned, even the French and Austrian consuls having left it. Moreover, the most valuable

remains of antiquity being contained in the fort, the ancient Acropolis, which was still occupied by the Turks, I should be precluded from seeing it; and, if I went upon the chance of the fort having been taken within a month, (the last date of the accounts received from that quarter) there was but one way of reaching there, viz. to sail to the island of Hydra, from whence I might find an opportunity for Aegina, Salamis, or even the Piraeus.

On the latter course I have, therefore, resolved, and am now waiting for an opportunity for Hydra. But I am aware that at the present period such a course would be difficult to meet with; and, I am told, that I should more readily find one in Kalamata.

For this small town on the gulf of Coron, I have found three travelling companions, two Englishmen, and a Hungarian. They have resolved to proceed there overland, if there should be no ship sailing there within a few days, and I am almost inclined to accompany them.

‘The Contagion followed, and vanquish’d them’: Plague, Travellers and Lazarettos

Janet Starkey

When they travelled to the Middle East in search of antiquities, romance, commercial opportunities or adventure, Europeans encountered sickness that included dysentery, malaria, the plague, ‘inflammatory and intermittent fevers’, smallpox that was ‘sometimes very fatal’ (Volney 1787, vol. 1, 362), cholera and other endemic diseases. As Emilie Savage-Smith and Peter Forman refreshingly explain in *Medieval Islamic Medicine* (2007), from medieval times there was intense pollination of medical practice with other cultures, through translations, trade and travel. The 16th-century Swiss physician, alchemist and expert on the plague, Philip Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim (usually known as Paracelsus), who travelled in Egypt, Arabia, the Holy Land and Constantinople, said: ‘Diseases wander hither and thither throughout the breadth of the world. If a man wishes to recognise many diseases let him travel’ (Ball 2006, 76). He argued that travelling was an obligation for all genuine physicians, because specific attributes of each region shape its own medicine: ‘For one country is different from another; its earth is different, as are its stones, wines, bread, meat, and everything that grows there ... the physician should take this into account ... and accordingly he should also be a cosmographer and geographer’ (*ibid.*, 77).

The term ‘plague’ is ‘a term given to any epidemic disease causing a great mortality’ and was used thus by the Classical medical authority, Galen (in Arabic, Jalinus) of Pergamon (d. c. AD 216). It applies to ‘any destructive pestilence, especially a specific acute and malignant fever, which often prevails in Egypt, Syria and Turkey, and has occurred epidemically at different times and places in the large cities of Europe’ (Appleton 1904). Although the term is usually applied to the bubonic plague, it was also variously applied to epidemics of cholera (‘plague in the guts’); Syrian plague (or Aleppo boil, also described by

Alexander Russell (1794); syphilis, known as the plague of Venus (*Lues venerea*); typhus (*Typhus egyptiacus*); and white plague, *i.e.* pulmonary tuberculosis. The 1911 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* distinguished the clinical classification of plague cases under three headings: bubonic, pneumonic and septicaemic. The bubonic plague is characterized by chills, fever, vomiting, diarrhoea and the formation of buboes. Not all plague is necessarily 'bubonic', nor are non-bubonic types (septicaemic, pneumonic) a different disease.

PLAGUE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Pestalozzi (1722, 23–25) claimed that the bubonic plague originated in the Ottoman Empire, specifically the Levant and North Africa; the disease was also known as the Oriental, or Levantine plague. The French traveller Volney (1787, vol. 1, 253–54) associated any outbreak in Alexandria with the arrival of a vessel from Smyrna or Constantinople:

... and that if the plague has been violent in one of these cities during the summer, the danger is the greater for themselves the following winter. It appears certain, that it really originates from Constantinople, where it is perpetuated by the absurd negligence of the Turks, which is so great that they publicly sell the effects of persons dead of that distemper.

Furthermore, Volney (*ibid.*, 574–56) noted that the plague ceased on the onset of winter: 'The winter destroys the Plague at Constantinople, because the cold there is very severe. The summer lights it up, because the heat is damp.' In contrast, in Egypt, according to Prosper Alpinus, Volney (*ibid.*, 255), Antoine Barthelemy Clot Bey (1840a, and 1840b, 416) and others (Pugnet 1804, 204), the plague was most violent in winter between December and March, though it might linger until hot weather in June. Prosper Alpinus (1553–1617) wrote in his *Medicina Aegyptiorum* that the plague was brought from Greece, Syria and Barbary, and that the heat destroyed it (Alpinus 1591, 29). Clot rejected theories that ascribed the genesis of plague in Egypt to the hot *khamsin* wind, humidity or stagnant waters. For Clot, plague was endemic in Egypt because meteorological conditions peculiar to that place provided it with a 'pestilential constitution'. Patrick Russell also argued that the spread of the plague was greatly affected by weather conditions. Indeed, he hoped to prove a connection between weather patterns and the incidence of epidemics, and Dr Charles Maclean in the early 19th century went as far as to attribute contagion to meteorological conditions. In his *Treatise of the Plague*, Russell (1791, 44–45) provided evidence that in 1762 the plague continued through the winter, even after a frost and snow, so travel-

lers had to contend not only with poor weather conditions but also fear of the plague!

Epidemics periodically raged in the Ottoman Empire, as many travellers recorded; nevertheless, the consul in the Ottoman port of Smyrna, Sir Paul Rycaut (1629–1700), thought that the plague was not endemic there, as he experienced only two serious outbreaks, in 1667 and 1678 (Anderson 1989, 4–5). After the 1720s, the plague was generally confined to areas of the Ottoman Empire that included Egypt, Arabia and Syria, with only sporadic outbreaks elsewhere: in Constantinople (1717), in European Turkey (1755–57) and along the Danube during the 18th century. Panzac (1973, 28: 1081–83) suggests that in the 18th century the plague was brought to Smyrna from Persia with the spring caravans; yet Olivier (1801, vol. 1, 157–71), who wrote in detail on the plague in the Ottoman Empire, and others noted that the instance of plague was low in Persia: ‘Turkey not furnishing any merchandise to Persia, this disorder can be transmitted thither only by travellers’ (*ibid.*, 162). Volney, visiting Egypt around 1784, described the plague that occurred every fourth or fifth year, which would have depopulated the country were it not for migration to Egypt from other parts of the empire (Volney 1787, vol. 1, 256).

The experience of epidemic disease is one of the central themes of social history, yet plague epidemics were often ignored by Western historians, for their effects were inevitably unpredictable and uncontrollable; Western travellers in the Middle East either hid away or fled under the threat of epidemics. The history of epidemics is often the province of antiquarians, who record the various outbreaks in order to convey a sense of rhythm and order to what was essentially chaotic and unpredictable. In 18th-century Syria, 49 years were affected by the plague, with four serious epidemics in Aleppo in 36 of these years (Panzac 1985, 11–13, 30–34), even though Volney (1787, vol. 1, 256) claimed in 1787 that 25 years had elapsed since the plague had been known in Syria. D’Arvieux recorded 100,000 deaths in the plague epidemic of 1669 (Russell 1794, vol. 1, 98, and vol. 1, 363, citing d’Arvieux 1735). Thomas Dawes (1763, 39–47) gave another contemporary account, and the Reverend Henry Maundrell (1749, 86), in *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, AD 1697*, asserted that the death rate was between 70 and 80 a day, *i.e.* less than d’Arvieux claimed. In 1797 William Eton (1799, 276) blamed the plague for population decreases around Aleppo: ‘fifty or sixty years ago were counted forty large villages in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, all built of stone; their ruins remain, but not a single peasant dwells in them’. Dr Mclean (1817, 443–82), who studied the plague in the Levant in 1817, said that about 90 per cent of patients who contracted the disease died.

A Scottish physician with the Levant Company in Aleppo, Alexander Russell (1715?–1768) witnessed outbreaks of a long and severe plague between mid-April 1742 and February 1744, and provided data in the form of a ‘Register of births

and burials between 1742 and 1750' (Russell 1794, vol. 2, 341r, 335r–87r). In the plague epidemic of 1742 he recorded that about 300,000 died, and noted that there were often so many deaths that there were hardly enough survivors to perform the last rites (*ibid.*, 335). He included a section on the plague in the second edition of *The Natural History of Aleppo* (1794), edited by his half-brother, Patrick Russell.

During his own residence in Aleppo, Patrick Russell (1727–1805), also a physician, experienced the annual plagues of 1760–62, which reduced the population of the city to around 150,000. These epidemics gave Patrick exceptional opportunities to add to Alexander Russell's studies of the disease, which had been published initially in 1756. In a remarkable volume, *A Treatise of the Plague*, published in 1791, Patrick Russell describes, month by month, the course of the plague at Aleppo during the 1760–62 epidemics and gives a detailed breakdown of mortality estimates: 7767 in 1761 and 11,883 in 1762; that is, a mortality rate in the city of around 15–20 per cent. In May 1761 he recorded 171 deaths, with the figure rising to 670 by the beginning of June. The *Treatise* contains epidemiological observations as well as details on quarantines, lazarettos and the administration of the police in times of pestilence, and it provides daily details of 120 cases that Patrick observed, including observations on a substantial number of patients who survived (Russell 1791, 1–70).

Like the writers of medieval European medical tracts on the plague, the two Russells considered its causes and provided details of its morbid anatomy in its various types. They prescribed treatments for those infected and recommended measures to prevent the spread of the disease. On their respective returns to London, Alexander and Patrick became leading authorities on the plague, and both were consulted by the Privy Council about quarantine regulations. Under the influence of the Scottish Enlightenment scholars and friends Adam Ferguson and William Robertson, Patrick Russell even recognized the economic and social implications of the plague, which affected 'every feature of life, from economics, wage labour and the disturbance of trade, to art history and hopes for the after life, from concepts of social alliance to new forms of hospital architecture' (Davis, n.d.).

PROTECTION AGAINST THE PLAGUE

The only effective prophylactic against plague was to leave the location of the epidemic. Though this was impossible for most people, Turks tried to avoid plague-ridden cities, Greeks flocked to certain churches, and Europeans isolated themselves in their houses, preoccupied with the fear of imminent death (Panzac 1973, 28: 1071–93; Dols 1974, 5: 269–87; 1979, 22(2): 162–89). According to Francis Boott (1834, vol. 2, 100), P. Assalini MD, who visited Syria in 1799,

thinks the horror and consternation attendant upon the European epidemics, as compared with the composure of the Turks from their principles of fatalism, have given rise to a greater mortality in Europe than in Africa, though seclusion and quarantine regulations are attempted to be observed in the one continent, and are unknown, generally at least, in the other.

He continued:

Experience has proved that shuttings up have never succeeded in arresting the progress of Plague. This disease always commences by attacking the poor in the most unwholesome quarters of the city, after which the health of the inhabitants in good circumstances becomes impaired, and at length death levels indiscriminately the poor and the rich. Then all becomes confusion; the magistrates are no longer able to maintain authority; the shuttings up cease by little and little; the season changes; the atmosphere becomes purified; those who have escaped recover strength and courage; and all at once the epidemic ceases.

Turks continued to distribute the clothes of the deceased, and isolation was out of the question for people who mixed regularly in the public baths. Volney recorded Greek merchants selling the effects of persons dead of the disorder in the markets of Constantinople, and exporting furs and woollen cloths thus purchased to Alexandria (Volney 1787, vol. 1, 254), whence pestilence spread around Egypt.

In contrast to the Persians, Arabs and Turks, the anti-plague precautions taken by the Franks were primitive, but not totally ineffectual. Fearing a severe outbreak of the plague in 1717, Ambassador Edward Wortley Montagu and his wife Mary fled Constantinople to Belgrade. During the plague season, many expatriates adopted the annual ritual of journeying to Jerusalem from Aleppo (*Criticism* 2004, vol. 46/3, 418). Those Aleppine merchants who could afford it moved to rural areas or to the mountains near Beilan, where they lived under canvas or in villages.

In the *Decameron* (1349–52), Boccaccio claims:

Some say that [the plague] descended upon the human race through the influence of the heavenly bodies, others that it was a punishment signifying God's righteous anger at our iniquitous way of life. But whatever its cause, it had originated some years earlier in the East, where it had claimed countless lives before it unhappily spread westward, growing in strength as it swept relentlessly on from one place to the next.

For all the subjects of the Ottoman sultan, whether Muslims or Christians, God both brought the plague and provided protection against it. The Russells recorded that the Aleppine Christians of the 18th century were helpless against the plague.

To contract it was an indication of the displeasure of God, and Alexander Russell noted that salvation from the plague was only possible 'next to Divine Providence', continuing (1794, vol. 2, 373):

... the means that the Europeans depend upon for their preservation during the time of the Plague, consist either in a retreat from the city, or in shutting up in their Town houses, in such a manner as effectually to prevent all intercourse or communication by which the infection might be received from without.

Some laid in three months' provisions, barricaded themselves in their houses and shot stray dogs (Lewis 1962, 33–34). Bishop Robert Frampton, an English chaplain in Aleppo, remained shut up in the city during the plague of 1667–70. This fatal custom meant that healthy people lived in infected houses with all their inmates, which was almost equivalent to a sentence of death and caused a dangerous concentration of the disease. Between 1740 and 1753 there were major outbreaks of plague every few years in Aleppo, during which all Europeans stayed indoors (Davis 1999, 79). Likewise in Egypt, Volney recorded (1787, vol. 1, 254–55):

As soon as it is confirmed, the European merchants shut themselves and their domestics up in their Kans, and have no further external communication with the city. Their provisions, deposited at the gate of the Kan, are received there by the porter, who takes them up with iron tongs, and plunges them into a barrel of water provided for this purpose. If it is necessary to speak to any one, they always keep at such a distance, as to prevent touching with their clothes, or breathing on one another ... It will easily be imagined what a tiresome state of imprisonment this must be: it continues for three or four months, during which time they have no other amusement than walking, in the evening, on the terraces, or playing cards.

In the epidemic of 1836–37 in Constantinople, when over 100,000 people died, Horatio Southgate (1840, 86–94) described the impact of the plague on its European community: 'every man seems to have suddenly grown selfish, places of public resort are abandoned, the theatre and the casino are forsaken, pleasure is forgotten, and even vice abstains from indulgence.' Furthermore (*ibid.*, 91),

... passengers in the streets studiously avoid contact with each other, which, in the narrow and thronged thoroughfares of Constantinople, is no easy task. ... Money is received in water or vinegar; letters and packages of all kinds are fumigated; the clerks at the European post-offices receive letters with tongs ... Friends, relations, oftentimes the nearest kindred, flee in terror and leave the victim to his fate. The neighbourhood is convulsed with fear. Every one who has lately been in contact with the sick becomes a suspected person ... the house undergoes a thorough fumigation. The bed and linen of the sick are burned. Every article of

clothing is washed or destroyed. Every piece of furniture is purified, and the whole house drenched with water from garret to cellar.

Patrick and Alexander Russell, as physicians, were denied the protection of enclosure.

When the first symptoms of that scourge of human nature at any time appeared, far from shutting himself up, as was customary with Europeans, Dr Russell remained calm and collected, and displayed a steady perseverance in the discharge of his duty, which could result only from the guidance of a beneficent, courageous and well-regulated mind. After communicating to the English consul instructions in writing for the observance of those attached to the English factory, he used to take leave of all his friends, who, at his express desire, shut themselves up within the limits of the factory, and did not suffer the least intercourse to be had with them. At the most imminent risk did Dr Russell then apply himself to the treatment of the diseased. If he was not able to arrest the progress of the malady, he had thus at least the best opportunities of investigating its nature, watching its symptoms, and trying the effects of various powerful medicines, and different modes of treatment. The correct and extensive information which he had acquired by experience in this most hazardous manner, during several successive visitations of the plague in 1760, 61 and 62, qualified him in a peculiar manner for writing a history of that direful distemper – an advantage of which he happily survived long after to avail himself. (Cunningham 1837, 118–19)

In the tradition of medieval European medical tracts on the plague, the two Russells considered its causes and provided details of its morbid anatomy in its various types. They prescribed treatments for those infected and recommended measures to prevent the spread of the disease. Death or recovery was unpredictable: Alexander Russell (1794, vol. 2, 229) confirmed that patients could die suddenly or recover: ‘it seemed to me that very plentiful bleeding at the first appearance of the disease was of great service.’ Volney (1787, vol. 1, 362), in contrast, claimed that bleeding ‘is neither necessary, nor very useful.’ Turks employed to some effect local rather than general bloodletting for plague victims, which caused less blood loss (Philo 1799–1804, 553–55). At the height of an epidemic Patrick Russell used to treat three to four hundred people in an afternoon and was ‘held in high esteem by all those who came under his care’ (Jayakody 2001, 39–40).

CONTAGION: LAZARETTOS AND QUARANTINE

Islamic tracts on the plague focused on various *hadīths* that presented concepts of contagion and transmissibility of disease, along with medical explanations

and remedies for plague. In his *Treatise*, Patrick Russell gave credence to these Arabic 'contagionist' theories of the plague, whereby it could be communicated from person to person as well as transferred in merchandise or clothing. It could have been brought to the West, for example, in the many large camel caravans from Baghdad and Basra. Patrick Russell always defended the importance of quarantine, as postulated by al-Rāzī (AD 865?–925?), and by Avicenna (d. AD 1037) probably in reference to measles, and stressed the dangers of pestilential contagion, as did the Andalusian physician, Ibn al-Khaṭīb (1313–74), in his treatise *On the Plague*. The concept of contagion led to the introduction of quarantine as a means of limiting the spread of infectious diseases (Tschanz 1997). Acting on the theory of contagion, Alexander Russell included in his *Natural History of Aleppo* (1794 (citing the 1756 edition), vii) a comprehensive guide to Aleppo streets, as it was a 'requisite for understanding the progress of the plague'. As a result, Patrick included 'A Plan of the City of Aleppo drawn by Carsten Niebuhr and printed opposite page 13' in volume 1 of the 1794 edition.

The English term 'lazar', dating from 1340, was defined by Samuel Johnson in his 1755 *Dictionary* as 'one deformed and nauseous with filthy and pestilential diseases'. 'Lazar' is further defined in *Webster's Dictionary* (1998) as 'a person infected with a filthy or pestilential disease; a leper', from Lazarus (Luke 16.20). An early use of the term 'lazaretto' meaning 'house for reception of lepers and diseased poor persons' is found in 1549. It borrowed the Italian term *lazaretto*, a 'place set aside for performance of quarantine' (also called lazarets or lazarettes); by 1605 the term was used in English as a 'building set apart for quarantine'. The word *quarantina* is derived from the 40-day period of quarantine stipulated in Venice, for the port received many ships from plague-infested districts of the East. Around 1403 a Venetian law was passed to prevent strangers entering the port until a certain waiting period had elapsed without them showing any sign of illness. The first lazaretto, established for those impounded in quarantine, was probably built by the Venetian Republic in 1423 on the island of Santa Maria di Nazareth. In Leghorn (Livorno, Livourne, *Liburnus Portus*), the first quarantine establishment was a modest and precarious building built in 1582 on the islet of Fanal by Ferdinand I.

In 1753 Alexander Russell resigned from his post in Aleppo, returning to England in February 1755 by way of Naples and Leghorn in order to supplement his study of the plague at Aleppo by visiting their lazarettos. In 1771 Patrick Russell also left Aleppo, returning chiefly overland through Italy and France as his brother had done, in order to examine minutely the lazarettos established there (see also Cassar 1989, 9–13; 1993, 475–82) and enquire into their management (Cunningham 1837, 119). Many travellers wrote of the quarantine experience in Leghorn, Naples, Malta, Venice and elsewhere. When Edward Wortley Montagu returned from ambassadorial duty in Constantinople in the

summer of 1718 with his wife Lady Mary, they stayed at San Pietro d'Arena near Genoa, where they arranged their 10-day quarantine 'from which no body is exempt coming from the Levant' (in correspondence cited by Grundy 1999, 172). They stayed with the British envoy, Henry Moulins Davenant, but could only receive visitors under the eye of the Genoese Commissioner, who ensured they did not touch one another.

The lazaretto in Naples was founded in 1626. John Howard (1726–90), perhaps more famous for his work on prisons and workhouses in England, wrote that 'a lazaretto should have the most cheerful aspect. A spacious and pleasant garden in particular, would be convenient as well as salutary' (Howard 1789). Howard's visits to lazarettos from 1773 onwards were recorded by the artist George Romney. In 1789 Howard described the administrative building of the lazaretto in Naples, the *Deputazione alla salute*. It was built in Classical style, on a small mole in the port, with the merchandise section on the ground floor; passengers lodged on the upper floor. There were first- and second-class rooms, while third-class passengers lodged in one large room (*ibid.*, 186–87).

Volney (1787, vol. 1, 257) noted that an edict was issued around 1785 to establish lazarettos at Constantinople (Istanbul), Smyrna (Izmir), Candia (Herakleion) and Alexandria, while the government of Tunis had already adopted this as a preventative measure. It was not until 1836 that the Ottoman sultan Mahmud II introduced the full apparatus of quarantine, despite fears that regulations would interfere with commercial interests. In 1847 *The Hand-book for Travellers in Egypt* (Wilkinson 1847, xix–xx) included 'General Regulations to be observed by all Persons performing Quarantine in the Lazaretto of Malta' (see Appendix). As a result of these various measures, the plague had begun to disappear by 1850, though a sanitary council in Turkey operated until 1914 (Mansel 1997, 256), and quarantine stations were still to be found in Gallipoli and Çanakkale in 1943 (*Turkey, Geographical Handbook* 1943, 11).

CONCLUSION

The conventional late medieval and early modern unholy scourges of plague and pestilence, war and famine, based as they were on the *Book of Revelation's* notion of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse – pestilence, war, famine and death – powerfully shaped the consciousness of European travellers, just as these four elements also affected local people – Turks, Arabs, Armenians, Turkmen, Jews and Persians. Fear affected everyone during an epidemic, local or traveller alike, but by the 19th century the plague also 'became a corollary to the horrific otherness of the Orient, and by projection of Islam, for the plague was understood to represent the threat of the Orient itself' (Grigsby 1995, 24). This paper has

not focused on metaphors but on practicalities. Nevertheless, it is surprising that we hear relatively little about the impact of plague in most travel accounts – the logistics, apprehensions and horrors of travelling in plague-ridden regions with the suddenness and unpredictability of epidemics accompanied by a constant fear and terror of death. The need for avoidance of plague cities and the sudden impact on trade routes and shipping, with the resulting difficulties of procuring information, transport and provisions – the kindness of strangers and the exhaustion of survivors – were all profoundly disruptive. As Albert Camus's narrator in his moral fable *La Peste* said: 'There have been as many plagues as wars in history, yet always plagues and wars take people equally by surprise' (1948, 34).

Appendix: General Regulations to be observed by all Persons performing Quarantine in the Lazaretto of Malta

1. All passengers on landing are to give their names to the captain of the lazaretto, which are to be entered in the registry of the office.
2. The captain of the lazaretto will assign apartments for passengers, and each passenger will be provided with two chairs, a table, and a wooden bedstead, for which no charges are made; but any damage done by the passengers to the apartments or furniture is to be made good by them before pratique.
3. Passengers are not to be permitted to enter other apartments; nor can they be allowed to receive visitors except at the *Palatorio* of the lazaretto, and that only during office hours; nor are they to trespass the limits assigned to them by the captain of the lazaretto.
4. Passengers must pay a strict attention to all the instructions they may receive from the captain of the lazaretto, and from the health guardians, and particularly in every point that regards their baggage, clothes, &c., being properly aired and handled during the period of their quarantine, and their quarantine will only commence to reckon from the day on which all their baggage, clothes, &c. have been duly opened and handled.
5. All letters and parcels, or other effects brought by passengers, must be given up, in order that they may be fumigated or depurated separately from them as the occasion may require.
6. All cases of sickness must be reported immediately to the captain of the lazaretto, and all persons sick are to be visited immediately by the physician to the lazaretto, after which official visit passengers are at liberty to avail themselves of any medical attendance they think proper.
7. Passengers are to pay the government fee for the guardians employed to attend them, for the number of days of their quarantine, at the following rates: viz. at 1s. 3d. per day for the guardian who attends one passenger; and

at 2s. 6d. per day for each guardian who attends more than one passenger. They are to victual the guardian or guardians during their quarantine, or to pay to each guardian an allowance of 7d. per day in lieu thereof. It is to be clearly understood that the guardians are employed solely for quarantine purposes, and they are strictly prohibited to interfere in any other service whilst they attend passengers.

8. The office hours at the lazaretto are from 8 A.M. to 12, and from 2 P.M. to 5 daily; and all letters sent to the fumigating room before 9 A.M. daily will be delivered in Valetta at 10, and those sent before 3 will be delivered in Valetta at 4 P.M. by the letter messenger, who is entitled to receive from the passengers 1d. for each note, parcel, or letter, as a remuneration for his trouble and for boat-hire.
9. A daily report of all circumstances is to be made by the captain of the lazaretto to the superintendent of quarantine and marine police.

E. Bonavia,
Superintendent of Quarantine and Marine Police.

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From *Murray's Handbook for Travellers to Egypt*

(London 1873, p. 7)

f. MEDICINES, AND TREATMENT OF SLIGHT AILMENTS INCIDENT TO THE COUNTRY.

Travellers who intend going up the Nile had better be provided with a small medicine chest, containing *blue pills, calome., *rhubarb pills, *Dover's powder, *Gregory's powder, *James's fever powder, *carbolic acid, *laudanum, *sulfate of quinine, diluted sulphuric acid, *sweet spirits of nitre, chlorodyne, *sulfate of zinc, nitrate of silver, *seidlitz powders, creame of tartar, ipecacuanha, essence of peppermint, essence of ginger, blistering plaster, *sticking plaster, *lint, *arnica. Those marked with an asterisk are the most useful. The following directions, chiefly from Dr. Patterson's book, for the treatment of ailments incident to the climate, will be found of service. Headache and biliary disturbance is often brought on by exposure to the sun. It is best treated by a smart purgative and by bathing the head copiously with cold water, while the feet are kept in hot water, to which a tea-spoonful of common mustard may be added. If very severe, 8 or 10 leeches should be applied to the temples. In simple diarrhoea take a blue pill, and after three hours 5 grains of Dover's powder, which may be repeated, if need be, at the same interval; or a small table-spoonful of castor-oil, with 10 drops of laudanum, or 3 grains of Dover's powder. In severer cases of diarrhoea, take 15 drops of diluted sulphuric acid in a small wine-glass of water every half hour, till four doses have been given; and if then no effect is produced, take Dover's powder

as above. For dysentery, the best treatment is first a blue pill, and after three hours a table-spoonful of the following mixture, to be repeated every hour, or two hours, according to the severity of the symptoms: – castor oil, 2 table-spoonfuls; whites of 4 eggs; 2 wine-glassfuls of water to be added gradually, and beaten up with the above; a little powdered gum Arabic may be usefully added to this mixture. In all cases of diarrhoea and dysentery, a rice diet is the best; and the drink should be rice-water, or toast-and-water, or the whites of a few eggs beaten up with water. A grain of quinine a day is a very convenient tonic after the attack is over. Ophthalmia begins by a slight redness and itching of the eyelids, and feeling of grittiness in the eyes, as though sand had got into them, accompanied after a time by a viscid matter causing the eyelids to adhere together. The best simple remedies are constant sponging of the eyes with tepid water and milk, or simply tepid (never cold) water, taking care to wipe them quite dry afterwards, avoidance of light, wearing a shade, and dropping between the eyelids three times a day a few drops of a wash containing from 5 to 6 grains of sulphate of zinc in a large table-spoonful of water, or, still better, rose-water. A slight purgative and low diet is also necessary. In very severe forms of this complaint, it may be necessary to have recourse to more severe measures, such as leeches, and the use of a strong collyrium containing from 5 to 8 grains of nitrate of silver in 1 oz. of water, or rose-water. Simply neglected, might end in ophthalmia. In all cases of sickness, one piece of advice should be borne in mind alike by the physician and the patient. Use all medicines sparingly, especially the stronger purgatives. “Many invalids partly nullify the good effect of change of climate, by continually dosing themselves with physic, and keeping their organs in a constant state of irritation.”

The 6th Earl of Hopetoun Prepares for the Nile

Brenda Moon

In 1865 the 6th Earl of Hopetoun (fig. 1), owner of an extensive estate on the Firth of Forth, set out for a pleasure trip up the Nile with his wife and her sister. There is no record of his having travelled beyond Europe before his journey up the Nile, and as far as is known, he never did so again; but by the mid-19th century such a trip was firmly on the tourist map for those who could afford it. Napoleon's determination to have the antiquities of the Nile valley recorded in the *Description de l'Égypte*, which he commissioned in 1802, had borne fruit, and its publication in 22 volumes between 1809 and 1830 had given rise to a flood of European travellers.

John Alexander Hope was born in 1831 and succeeded to the earldom at the age of 12, on his father's death. He came from a wealthy family with a long place in history and moved in conventional aristocratic circles. He was active in Scottish affairs and in improving his estate, and he enjoyed fishing and hunting. He married Ethelred Anne Birch Reynardson, of Holywell, near Stamford in Lincolnshire, in 1860. She too came from a wealthy, though not as eminent a family, and was extremely fond of riding and hunting. Her younger sister, Mary Caroline, who accompanied them on the Nile trip, remained unmarried. The Earl and his Lady had spent nearly six happy years in his magnificent seat of Hopetoun House when they began their Nile holiday; he was 34 years old, and his wife was three years younger. They left behind their four-year-old son (who was to become the first Governor General of the Commonwealth of Australia) and another son aged three. On their return to Hopetoun the Earl lived only eight more years, dying from an attack of typhoid fever at the age of 42 in 1873. His wife died in 1915.

Whether the journey up the Nile was the Earl's idea or his wife's is unknown. Certainly the diary of the trip that survives in the archives at Hopetoun House (NRA (F) 888 Bundle 1640), written in a scrawling hand, with little or no attention

to punctuation or layout, is his, for in it he refers to his wife (always as 'Miladi') and her sister in the third person. The delightful watercolours in this album may in whole or in part be in his hand, though only twice in his diary does he



Fig. 1. John Alexander Hope, 6th Earl of Hopetoun. Photo © author, with kind permission of the Hopetoun House Preservation Trust.



Fig. 2. Descending the First Cataract. Hopetoun watercolour album no. 29 (NRA (F) 888, Bundle 1640), W loose 2e. Photo © author, with kind permission of the Hopetoun House Preservation Trust.

refer to making a drawing – once of a plant that attracted him and once of a river scene. Some of the sketches are annotated with the place and/or the date in a hand that could be his, but many have neither caption nor date. The style of the sketches varies greatly, from competent paintings of flowers and dead birds and the occasional landscape to humorous rough sketches – cartoons – of incidents on the trip (fig. 2). The photograph album consists almost entirely of published calotypes by W. Hammerschmidt, purchased in Egypt, although one or two loose photographs of the party may have been taken by a Mr Fox, who accompanied them as doctor. In one of these the shadow of another camera is visible, and at one point in his diary the Earl mentions that Mr Fox used a camera.

‘MEMORANDUM FOR A JOURNEY ON THE NILE’

In addition to the two albums and the Earl’s diary, there is in the Archives at Hopetoun a small (duodecimo) notebook containing a ‘Memorandum for a

journey on the Nile' in the form of rough notes, filling ten of the 16 pages. It is written in handwriting altogether more rounded and easier to read than that of the diary, and I suspect that the 'Memorandum' was written by his wife, since it dwells at some length on aspects of housekeeping. It gives a fascinating insight into the early stages of planning the trip.

Although steamers were a familiar sight on the Nile when the Earl and his party were making their plans, the gentlemanly way to cruise on the Nile was still by *dahabieh*, a traditional sailing boat of up to a hundred feet in length, long and narrow with two (sometimes three) masts. The after part was covered with a roof or awning that could be rolled back; it had glass windows and provided the living quarters for the passengers. It was normally divided into a saloon and several cabins and was raised a few feet above the bulwarks, as seen in many contemporary photographs and as shown in some of the Earl's watercolours. A *dahabieh* was normally hired by the month, more or less as a shell, and the first priority for European travellers was to turn it into a home by the addition of furnishings and other contrivances they felt to be necessary for a voyage of up to six months. Planning a trip up the Nile therefore required considerable forethought regarding what to take out from home and what to count on buying in Egypt.

It is easy to forget how different planning a holiday on the Nile must have been in the mid-19th century: no internet to check for information on accommodation, no travel agents to advise. Lord and Lady Hopetoun did what others must have done for generations – they consulted their friends and neighbours and took advice from them. The 'Memorandum' begins with the single word, 'Doctor', continuing on the next line:

Boats can be secured from Messrs Briggs, Bankers, Consular House, Cairo. Servant going out would do it better.

Lord Spencer's 2 boats were the 'Bulbul' and the 'Dragon' – Take a Cairo boat – not one from Alexandria, & not an iron one.

Boat costs about £70 to £75 per month for 2 or 3 months & includes the Sailors' pay, & the whole outfit – linen, knives, forks, plates, etc, but not 'Backsheesh'.

Two further notes show that they consulted more than one source:

Lady Scarbro's boat was 'Pelican', her uncle's was 'Cleopatra', & both good.

Lord Spencer recommends to take Boat & man & pay servants' wages & keep house.
– Cost him £12.10 about per day for 4 Maitres, 3 English servants, 1 Dragoman, 1 Arab Cook, 1 French cook, apprentice & 1 Boy – in all 11 persons.

Dragoman, or Head Waiter: Lord Spencer recommends his own, one Mahomet Neer, or Mahomet Hassan, the Nubian, & the names 'Pacho' and 'Antonio Sapienza' are also good.

Duke of Rutland's Nubian – good. Lady Scarbro's dragoman was Achmet Saide – good. Her uncle's (The Duke) was 'Malieh', good but young.

Lord Spencer's cook was a Dervish, Achmeleus, good. Londesbro's was better.

After the supremely important question of staff, there follows a note on 'Money – Circular notes better than letters of credit on Cairo', then a list of 'furnishings, etc.':

Furnishings required

Water filter

Ice making machine (from Condeboni, London – opposite British Museum

Washing tubs & laundry irons

Pianoforte

60 yards of common chintz

Muslin curtains

Cashmere or Turkish mats for Boat

Oil cloth or American cloth about 7 ft square

At Cairo get Trieste Dalmatian Insect Powder

Papier Mouche [fly-paper]

Fumigating ribbon, from 2 New Bond Street

Pennant for boat, say 25–35 yards long, from Edgington, London, or a small red Ensign or Union Jack

Davits, for hoisting up small boat

Bed & table linen

Iron baths

Small churn

Hand lamps

Camp stool

2 Iron folding bedsteads

Telescope. Barometer & Thermometer

Sketch Book & paper, pencils & paints

Writing materials

Measuring tape & Footrule

Pillows – Air cushions

Blankets

Tool chest – Brass hooks & nails

Copper for boiling water

Powder – Shot guns

Portable washing machine

Portable washing stand

Gentleman's & Lady's saddles & two bridles
Claret glasses

Some of these items are initially surprising: what space would there be, for example, for a piano, even an upright piano? Yet a means of making music was undoubtedly seen as a necessity on all but the smallest *dahabieh*: Amelia Edwards, travelling eight years after the Earl, describes in *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* a fellow passenger entertaining the Governor of Aswan on the piano in the saloon with extracts from Verdi and Wagner (Edwards 1890, 178).

The reference to 'pennants' is a reminder that a trip up the Nile was in 1865 by no means a solitary affair. One could expect to meet many other boats carrying friends or acquaintances from Britain, the rest of Europe and America, and it was important to be able to recognise them. When John Shaw Smith, an early amateur photographer, went up the Nile in 1851–52, his young son (who came out to join him during his school holiday) made a sketch of the pennants of the boats they passed, naming their occupants. A line of pennants can be seen in one of the Earl's watercolours (fig. 3). Occasionally a hirer would change the name of the *dahabieh* for the purposes of the trip; thus Marianne Brocklehurst (1992, 17) in 1873 changed the name of the *Lydn* to the *Bagstones*, that being the

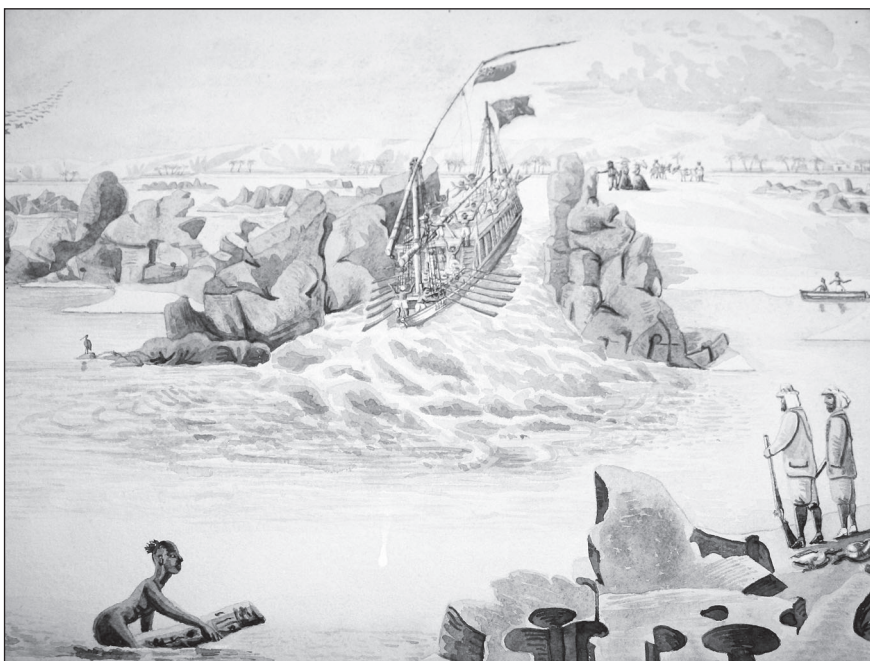


Fig. 3. Dahebieh with Pennants Flying. Hopetoun watercolour album no. 29 (NRA (F) 888, Bundle 1640), W 3a. Photo © author, with kind permission of the Hopetoun House Preservation Trust.

name of her house in Cheshire. Like Lord Spencer, the Sixth Earl of Hopetoun hired not one but two boats; they were the *Marie Louise* and the *Estella*.

The 'Memorandum' continues with a list of stores to be bought in:

Stores

Biscuits

Tea

Rice & Macaroons, Raison [raisins] & plums

Jams & preserved fruit

Candles

Pickles

Irish Butter

Preserved meat & Soup & Vegetables

Marmalade

Starch & soap

Wine

Hock

India Pale Ale (Quarts)

Then comes advice on clothing – reinforcing the supposition that the 'Memorandum' was written by Lady Hopetoun, since it concentrates on ladies' attire:

Dresses

Linens & some warm winter things, & for Nubia, brown Holland, & washing gowns & Alpacas.

Large straw hats, rather thick, are to be got at a Shop near Hotel de Europe in Alexandria – as well as pith hats & shoes, & all men's things.

Sun parasols & white cotton umbrellas with dark inside. (These are got good at Nice.)

There follows useful advice on the journey to Egypt, clearly gleaned from friends who had had bad experiences:

Journey

Austrian Lloyd & Co Steamers leave Trieste for Alexandria on 5th, 12th, 20th, 28th of each month at 10 am. The voyage is 5 days about. Separate cabins can be secured, of 2 or three berths, opening off the saloon.

The cost of 1 berth	=	£15
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2 berths in cabin	=	£30
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3 berths in cabin	=	£45
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P & O Steamers from Southampton on Nov. 12 & on Dec. 27th have most room.

Southampton to Alexandria is 13 days. The charge for luggage is per Cwt – 10/-, for Goods, per 40 cubic feet, or per ton or 20 CWT: £5.–

From Alexandria send all luggage up under charge of a servant to Cairo – in a truck per Passenger Train. Register [it], or have contract for the journey witnessed.

A sketch in the album of watercolours accompanying the Earl's diary at Hopetoun shows a passenger train carrying their horses, too. The 'Memorandum' ends with the note that Lady Scarborough and seven maids stayed at Abbat's Hotel in Alexandria.

'MEMD^a OF SUNDRIES REQUIRED FOR A JOURNEY ON THE NILE'

Many aspects of the preparations that would have been needed before embarking on the journey are not covered in the small notebook, but fortunately there also survives in the Hopetoun archives a very different document, albeit with a similar title: 'Memd^a of Sundries required for a Journey on the Nile'. This is a fine handwritten document of seven sheets forming 14 foolscap pages of lined paper, bound with tape and dated 'Oct. 1866'. It was therefore written after the voyage, and although it is unsigned, there is good reason to believe that it was composed by Mr Fox, the doctor who accompanied the Earl's party. It deals in some detail with medical matters and includes, in effect, an advertisement for his services for any other travellers proposing such a voyage. It was written with hindsight and draws attention to one or two factors for which the Earl and his Lady had clearly not been prepared.

Mr Fox begins by recommending Achmet Saidi as dragoman:

Achmet Saidi should be engaged by letter in advance. [He] is to be entrusted to engage boats if wanted, but it is better to see and judge for oneself. State that boats are to ascend the [first] cataract. Dragoman provides native servants and cook. Try to get the cook Lord Hopetoun had in the desert. He was first rate. The one on the Nile (Lord Londesborough's) was good but inclined to drink.

He then turns to medical matters: 'Doctor: indispensable. There is no sort of medical attendance to be had or any possibility of obtaining drugs.' This is borne out by other traveller's accounts, for frequently travellers were called upon by crew members or local inhabitants to render first aid or to provide medicines. Amelia Edwards, for example, writes that her friend and travelling companion, Lucy Renshaw, 'with her little medicine chest and her roll of lint and bandages soon had a small but steady practice' (Edwards 1877, 107). Mr Fox, on the other hand, could offer professional advice and recommendations as to what medicines should be carried: 'Granular effervescent Citrate of Magnesia, Glycerine, Acetate

of Ammonia, Citrate of Iron, Quinine, James' Powders, Citric acid, powdered Rhubarb pills... Castor oil, Blue pills, Calomel if possible, Laudanum, Seidlitz Powders, Ipecacuana...' He warns of the hazards to be met when transporting such stores:

There may be trouble in landing in Alexandria with the personal luggage & also with the stores sent from England. The Consul, Mr Stanley, is utterly incompetent, but an application to Colonel Stanton, the Consul General (Alexandria) stating that the stores are merely for private use & that no objection will be made to pay duty on them, will meet with attention. The great thing is to avoid having the boxes broken open and their contents scattered about. The Dragoman should get a Janissary from the Consul to meet the party on landing. He can also do a great deal with the Chief of the Customs House in freeing the stores. No one who has not seen an Eastern custom house can conceive the want of arrangement of any sort in any department. Boxes which have arrived by the same ship the same day will probably be found in separate warehouses, where they must be hunted for by the owner.

Mr Fox urges that arrangements be made with the chief of the railway, Beth Bey, as to the arrangement of the stores: 'If once lost sight of, or not taken by a passenger train, they will probably not arrive in time to be of any use that winter.'

On the matter of clothing, Mr Fox's packing list is quite different from that in the notebook. He recommends 'shooting suits such as worn in England in summer, strong shooting boots for the mud at the sides of the river. Long boots & breeches in case of riding. White felt wide-awakes with high crowns & a common sailor's turban will be found the best head dress.' That such advice was needed – and taken – can be seen from some of the watercolours in the Hopetoun album. Hunting and shooting were the almost constant activities of the Earl and the doctor on the Nile.

Less predictably, Mr Fox adds: 'A silk waist-band is indispensable. Europeans neglecting this precaution are almost invariably attacked with diarrhoea.' He recommends a thick great-coat, 'as it is sometimes chilly at night, low down in the river', and 'stout large-sized umbrellas in brown holland lined with green silk will be found useful'; yellow or not, large umbrellas or parasols appear in some of the watercolours. Mr Fox also indicates that a small tent would be needed 'for expeditions', and several of the Hopetoun watercolours show tents.

As to washing facilities, Mr Fox recommends that 'a laundry maid should be taken out from England – a woman who can sew, make beds, make herself generally useful.' Typically, he is particular as to detail, stipulating 'strong yellow soap' and 'Hall's patent starch'. While he reports that each boat would be

equipped with china, glass and linen, he adds that 'it is better to take some linen, especially sheets and blankets'; as to kitchen utensils, he adds that they should take 'a coffee pot (Platow's best). They will not make coffee in the European way.' He takes it for granted that European travellers would want to maintain their European habits in this respect.

On the question of food and drink, he reports that 'no wine fit to drink can be got in Cairo... Claret does not keep very well [and] should be stored under the floor of the cabin.' He rates port wine as 'very useful', and English gin as 'useful'. Surprisingly, he comments that the Nile water 'when filtered, is very good; a few small portable filters from the London and General Purifying Co., 157 Strand, will be found useful for expeditions'. Butter, he says, is not to be got, and suggests as a substitute 'preserved cream' and clotted buffalo cream. For milk, he adds, 'at least 3 goats should be taken from Cairo'. He admits that milk can also be got high up the river, but 'a good supply of milk is always an unpopular measure with the Dragoman, and should be insisted upon before commencement of the journey. A cow might be taken out from England if it was a large party.' The Earl's party, to judge from the watercolours, managed without a cow, but three goats do appear in one of the pictures. The artist seems to have economised by making a cut-out drawing of a goat, as also of a donkey, still loose in the album, and using these as templates for images of goats and donkeys in various pictures. Mr Fox recognised that on expeditions tinned or otherwise preserved food has a place, and writes that 'in case of accident, desiccated milk, portable soup in skins, and compressed vegetables ... such as petits pois, Macedoine, Haricot verts, Artichokes' be carried.

More cultural requirements were not overlooked in the Doctor's list. He includes 'candles and oil for tombs; also magnesium wire for lighting up; sketching blocks and Drawing Books, pencils, India rubbers', and a list of suitable books, beginning with *Murray's Handbook to Egypt* and ending with 'plenty novels'. Even a key to tune the piano is included.

Lastly, Mr Fox addresses the question of fishing tackle and shooting gear, both favourite pastimes with European travellers: one of the Hopetoun watercolours shows one of the ladies fishing. He describes in detail, with a rough drawing, the type of punt needed for duck shooting, and the most appropriate guns and ammunition; guns appear in some of the pictures. He warns, however, that 'the P & O vessels are not allowed to carry powder, but the present Managing Director of the P & O company of Southampton may take out a few lbs as a great favour, but it must be packed in copper, and be hermetically sealed.'

A relatively new but fast growing pastime on the Nile was photography. Mr Fox himself was an amateur photographer and 'got some good negatives' at Aswan on 11 February; on 24 January, when approaching Girgeh, they passed a boat with an English photographer and his wife on board. The Earl and the

ladies, however, seem to have preferred watercolours, and the album undoubtedly gives a livelier picture of the trip that they clearly enjoyed than the photographs of the time could provide.

Thanks to their careful preparations, with the advice of their friends and the help of Mr Fox, they suffered no accidents or discomforts greater than a plague of insects (fig. 4). 'We couldn't sit down to dinner for the swarms of Ephensesa like small Mayflies, or rather large Duns. We had to have the cloth removed & shaken & return to the middle of the stream.' Not that there were no tragedies on their trip – but they happened to other people. When they were visiting Kalabshe their Reis bought 'a little black slave girl, with a view of selling her at a profit in Cairo', but 12 days later, when they returned from a visit to the Tombs of the Kings, they found that she had died and was already buried. 'She had been ill for some days, but her master would not let Mr Fox prescribe for her.' Then on 7 April 'a native boat containing about 50 men & women was sunk by part of the bank falling in. Our sailors picked up some of them, but the Captain's son was drowned.'

No such tragedies feature in the album of watercolours; there the impression is of a cheerful party enjoying new experiences: sport, entertainment and a sunlit landscape. Even the plague of insects is a matter for humour. The Earl



Fig. 4. A Plague of Insects. *Hopetoun watercolours* (NRA (F) 888, Bundle 1640), W loose 2a. Photo © author, with kind permission of the Hopetoun House Preservation Trust.

and his party could return to Scotland with satisfaction at having achieved the most popular tour of the day, and armed with Mr Fox's good advice on how to survive and enjoy a journey on the Nile, they could advise other friends who would make the journey after them.

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(London 1873, pp. 324–25)

e. GENERAL HINTS.

However free the boat may be from rats at starting, it is very probable that some may come on board from the country boats near which the dahabeeah is moored during the voyage, therefore it is a good thing to take one or two iron rat-traps. Many boats are provided with mosquito-curtains; but unless there is any inducing reason, such as bilge-water, to cause the presence of mosquitos, no annoyance ought to be experienced from them after leaving Cairo. Neither bugs nor fleas should be found on any properly clean boat, but it is as well to have some Persian flea-powder, which is the best remedy for these unwelcome visitants. The great plague on the Nile is flies, and the most effectual snare for them is what is known as “fly-paper,” which can be procured at Cairo; fly-flaps are also very useful. If the traveller be a smoker, he will know how to supply his own wants in that line; but even though he himself should not smoke, he ought to take with him a little Turkish tobacco and paper for cigarettes, and Jebely tobacco for pipes, together with one or two chibooks, so as to be able to offer a smoke to any native visitors. Some common tobacco also may be taken for occasional distribution among the crew. Coffee should always be handed round on the occasion of any visit, and it is well to have a few bottles of *sirop* for making the so-called sherbet. It is customary to fly the national ensign of the passengers at the stern of the dahabeeah, and a special distinguishing pennant at

the yard-end: the former can be bought at Cairo, and the latter made, but it is better to bring them from England.

Insist upon your dragoman always helping to wait at table; and never allow him to give himself the air of being master of the boat, the crew, the servants, and yourself; but keep him strictly in his place, as a servant hired to carry out your wishes, and not as a great personage, condescendingly showing you up and down the Nile, and hardly allowing you to choose where you will go or what you will do.

...

The traveller will probably be asked before leaving Cairo for money to buy the crew a tambourine and a *tarabooka*, a sort of drum, these being the musical instruments with which the sailors accompany their songs. There is no necessity for acceding to this request, and some may not care to encourage the men in singing; but few would probably be disposed to put a stop to what is one of the chief delights of a Nile boatman, and is itself in moderation not unpleasing to the ear.

The Tedious Camel

Peta Reé

The inspiration for this paper was a remark made by Flinders Petrie, who complained that though elsewhere in Egypt the railway made travelling fairly swift by 1882, in Sinai ‘the tedious camel is the only vehicle’ (Petrie 1906, 1). This striking phrase is, however, an example of a transferred epithet, for what the eminent but not very placid archaeologist meant was that a camelback journey, at about two and a half to three miles (4–5 km) per hour, was indeed tedious (and well evoked by William Bartlett (1848, vol. 1, 6) as ‘the provoking tranquillity of your weary pace’). The beast itself cannot be called so, for although ungainly, tireless, tiresome, invaluable to its human masters but often antagonistic to them, nevertheless because of it entire cultures have come into being. It is, in short, a fascinating animal, and it certainly had a somewhat horrifying fascination for European travellers, judging by the amount they wrote about it. I shall consider the camel under various headings – its design, its uses and its behaviour – though it must be said that the last named colours all else about the creature.

DESIGN

In C. E. Carryl’s 1892 poem ‘The Complaint of the Camel’, the beast remarks in that ‘put upon’, ‘camelious humpish’ way so characteristic of it:

But a Camel’s all lumpy, and bumpy and humpy –
Any shape does for me.

To the engineer Alec Issigonis the *Oxford Dictionary of 20th Century Quotations* attributes the remark that the camel is a horse designed by a committee. Issigonis, who preferred to work alone, was expressing not so much disparage-

ment of the camel as of the results of several minds and opinions being brought to bear on a design problem. However, in the case of the camel, the notional committee members had a better grasp of the essentials of their agenda than is perhaps commonly the case. For the camel is peculiarly (I use the adverb advisedly) well adapted to its situation, a supreme example of Form following Function.

From the ground up, the feet are broad and soft, perfect for walking on sand and snow – though the latter is seldom required of the Middle Eastern camel upon whom we are bending our attention. With no hoofs to strike the ground, the camel moves almost soundlessly. Richard Burton, describing a night journey, speaks of ‘the huge and doubtful forms of spongy-footed camels with silent tread, looming like phantoms in the midnight air’ (Burton 1855, 113).

The camel looms indeed, but not to quite the extent claimed by the characteristically hyperbolic Mark Twain: ‘a camel is as tall as any ordinary house in Syria – which is to say, a camel is from one to two and sometimes nearly three feet taller than a good-sized man.’ (Twain 1966, 390). The camel is tall, typically about six feet (two meters) at the shoulder, seven feet to the top of the hump. Alexander Kinglake found that ‘the height to which you are raised is of great advantage to you in passing the burning sands of the desert, for the air at such a distance from the ground is much cooler and more lively than that which circulates beneath’ (Kinglake 1898, 212).

A dromedary can carry a rider at 10 miles (16 km) per hour all day; the record is 150 miles (240 km) in eleven hours. As noted, a laden camel in a caravan travels at about two to three miles per hour but has been known to cover 40 miles (64 km) in a very long day. Once established, this gait is so regular that travellers could judge distances by the number of hours in motion, as if the beast were a four-legged pedometer.

The camel has three speeds: a jolting walk, a scarcely less uncomfortable pace, and a gallop, in which speed is ‘obtained at the expense of all comfort ... threatening dislocation of the joints’, according to the Reverend Stephen Olin (1843, 74). This may be as displeasing to the animal as to the rider, for though camel racing is now a popular international sport, James Wellsted noted that camels ‘do not enjoy the gallop – they could not be set going without much trouble and were afterwards very intractable’ (Wellsted 1838, 70).

The camel’s peculiar method of locomotion accounts for much of this discomfort. Explained Kinglake (1898, 208),

Like the elephant, [it] is one of the old-fashioned sort of animals that still walk upon the (now nearly exploded) plan of the ancient beasts that lived before the Flood. She moves forward both her near legs at the same time, then awkwardly swings round her off shoulder and haunch, so as to repeat the manoeuvre on that side. Her pace, therefore, is an odd, disjointed and disjoining sort of movement.

Or as John Keane described it, 'an awful jumpity-wobbledy gait', commenting also that 'a walk after the first seven hours of your journey, means little less than absolute repose' (Keane 1881a, 17 and 21).

This dysfunctional locomotion is the subject of unfavourable comment from many travellers. The swaying and rocking induced nausea in some. Many travellers preferred to walk rather than suffer the pain of riding, but others found the motion less unpleasant. Arthur Mace actually fell first asleep and then off (Lee 1992, 49), and Murray's *Guide to Egypt* (1873, 274) suggested reading as 'a great relief to the ennui and sense of monotony which comes over most people during a long day's ride'; but 'not a *stiff* book – treating of the place or its history, but a novel or some such light reading.' The works of Stanley, Martineau and Lord Lindsay were recommended.

Isabella Bird (1886) considered the Old Testament the most appropriate reading on her journey to Sinai. Less appropriate, at least to the ears of his companions, were the religious exercises of Joseph Wolff's servant, Franco. 'Settling himself on the camel's back in the position of one of the granite statues of Memnon, [he] used to sing pious German psalms ... His voice had a sort of nasal twang, and the rugged German cadences used to strike the Arabs with dismay', noted John Carne (1826, 202).

To return to the personal appearance of the camel, its legs are long and strong, and it is the length of these 'cushioned stilts', as Mark Twain put it (1966, 391), which dictates the length of its neck. Anne Katherine Elwood complained, 'they stretch out their long necks one way, and they poke them out another, and there is no knowing where one is safe from them' (Elwood 1830, 142). But the lofty camel needs that long neck in order to reach its sustenance, and again, it is perfectly adapted to its arid surroundings. While no doubt preferring nice juicy grass, it can feed on the coarsest scrub: the lining of the mouth is so tough that thorns cannot pierce it. On the Red Sea coast, G. W. Murray saw camels wading 'knee deep in the sea, feeding on the mangroves' (Murray 1935, 109). For if its more natural diet is wanting, a camel will eat anything: fish, meat, bones, even its master's tent. 'But there's never a question about my digestion,' moans Carryl's camel, 'anything does for me!'

The length of time camels have been known to go without drinking differs in various sources from 17 to 34 days; Wellsted (1838, 296) attests to 25. This endurance is possible because the camel uses water slowly, it hardly sweats, and it can lose up to 25% of its weight through dehydration without ill effect. It can regain the loss in a few minutes by drinking as much as 25 gallons or 100 litres of water at once. Contrary to the common supposition, the camel does not store water in its hump. It stores fat there when feeding is good, and it can oxidise a certain amount of water from the fat. If a camel falls upon hard times, its hump may actually flop and hang down. Water, when found in the desert, will fre-

quently be brackish, but no matter. Brother Felix Fabri claimed that camels are 'fond of foul water ... where the water is not muddy enough, they stir up the mud by trampling with their feet to thicken it' (Fabri 1896, 456). Or are they just trampling in their eagerness to get at it?

The camel can find its food by means of both its keen sight and its sense of smell – and so we come to the head, which again has ingenious adaptations to the environment. The eyes are 'big and terrible ... like fire beacons', said Fabri (*ibid.*, 455). But set on the side of the head, they are protected from wind-blown sand by a double row of eyelashes and thick overarching eyebrows. Glands supply a great deal of water to keep the eye moist.

The camel's nostrils are lined with hair, can be closed to slits during a storm, and can filter air from dust and sand. Though keen of hearing, like the dog it may not *choose* to hear commands. How much less well designed for desert travel are humans: 'The nose, ears, mouths and eyes of our party, carried away enough of Egypt, to found the oasis in the desert' complained William Jarvie in a letter dated 2 February 1904.

The camel's mouth is described by Fabri (1896, 455) as 'foul and unclean ... very large, with long lower teeth; when it screams, being in trouble, it opens its mouth, shakes its head, and raises up its long neck, wagging it to and fro.' The camel has 34 strong teeth, very effective for biting – and biting is a thing camels are addicted to. Keane says (1881b, 105),

I never recall to mind a camel, but I picture it biting, or trying to bite something, an operation for which its peculiar dental arrangement well adapts it. It never loses the opportunity of biting anything it dares bite, and it dares bite anything but a Bedawi; some will even occasionally venture a sly nibble at their masters.

The working camel cannot wear a bit in its mouth, like a horse, for it needs to chew cud as it progresses through the three sections of its stomach. Instead, a leading rope is passed through its nose. No doubt, had the camel foreseen this arrangement, during the eons before it became associated with man, it would have evolved a neat fur-lined hole.

USES

For the Bedouin, the uses of the camel are many – it provides milk, meat, material for clothing and tents, dung for fuel, and transport. The last is the use of interest to our travellers.

Perhaps here should be explained the difference between a camel and a dromedary. William Palgrave (1865, 195) is succinct:

Camels and dromedaries are the identical creation. A dromedary is a high-bred camel and the camel is a low-bred dromedary, exactly the same difference that exists between a racehorse and a hack. Dromedaries are thin, elegant (or comparatively so), fine-haired, light of step, easy of pace and much more enduring of thirst than the woolly, thick-built, heavy-footed, ungainly and jolting camel. But both have only one hump.

According to *Murray's Guide* (1907, 50), 'The camels given to tourists to ride are usually bad baggage camels, which would not be mounted by a native used to the proper riding dromedary.'

Of the baggage camel, which can bear up to 330 pounds or 150 kilograms for eight hours or more, Fabri writes (1896, 457), 'this is a beast of burthen, appointed to bear burdens and rejoicing so to do.' Rejoicing? Hear Richard Burton (1874, 344):

We had the usual trouble in loading them: the owner of the animals vociferating about the unconscionable weight, the owners of the goods swearing that such weight a child could carry, while the beasts, taking part with their proprietors, moaned piteously, roared, made vicious attempts to bite, and started up with an agility that threw the half-secured boxes headlong to the ground.

Kinglake (1898, 207) gives a softer account:

The camel kneels to receive her load, and for a while she will allow the packing to go on with silent resignation; but when she begins to suspect that her master is putting more than a just burthen upon her poor hump, she turns round her supple neck and looks sadly upon the increasing load, and then gently remonstrates against the wrong with the sigh of a patient wife. If sighs will not move you, she can weep.

One of the most unlikely loads placed on a camel must be the Bechstein piano sent by the parents of Mrs Arthur Mace (Lee 1992, 62) to lend some solid middle-class comfort to the mud hut in which she and her husband lived during a dig.

The behaviour of the camel bearing baggage could be observed with greater detachment by travellers than could that of the camel bearing themselves. Not everyone actually bestrode a camel – women, in particular, were often condemned to various contraptions, each with its own peculiar discomforts. Mrs Elwood (1830, 142) describes the *tahktouran*:

It was about six feet [two meters] long, and three broad, composed of a curious heavy-painted open woodwork, something like the Mameluke windows; and in this I lay ... This was placed upon shafts, and carried by camels, one going in front, the other behind ... the latter having its head tied down, in order that it might see

where it stepped ... it was raised nearly six feet from the ground ... The motion was very unpleasant at first ... I had a sensation of seasickness almost to fainting, come over me.

Keane, sleeping *en route* in a litter or *shugduf*, 'spent one of the most wretched and apparently perilous nights I have ever had the misfortune to undergo, for the pitching and rolling of that desert-ship could not find its equal afloat; so that, old sailor as I was, I became exceedingly sick' (Keane 1881b, 7).

Henry Salt and his companions across the desert from Suez to Cairo were seated in *mohaffas*, seats slung one each side of a camel. After a day of this, jerking and jolting about, they pronounced it 'the most uneasy conveyance they had ever experienced' and, as quickly as they might, bribed their Arab escort to lend them their horses (Valentia 1811, vol. 3, 352). Mrs Lushington's maid lasted two days in 'a sort of basket with a hood, fastened on the back of a camel' before she was allowed to complete her journey 'with perfect ease' on a donkey (Lushington 1829, 53).

The camel-rider's first hint of his coming experience was the sight of the seating arrangements. Said Olin (1843, 75),

The camel's rigging and appliances for the comfort and safety of the rider at first appear forbidding, and even appalling; a huge pack-saddle, made chiefly of wood and straw padding, without stirrups, and often without a girth, being fastened, in that case, by a rope passed round the breast ... These equipments appear a little dubious at first ... but ... some doubles in a rope make very good stirrups, where there are so few reasons for consulting show ... and the awkward framework of wood and straw padding ... are soon converted by superincumbent mattresses, bedding, cloaks, etc.

Many are the descriptions of the manoeuvres involved in mounting one's tall conveyance. 'The camel,' complained Edward Palmer, 'gets up by jerks and only half at a time.' (Palmer 1871, 30). William Turner's account (1820, vol. 3, 401) is the most unsparing of himself.

No Cockney excited more mirth by unskilful horsemanship than I did by my debut in riding a camel. After it had lain down, and I had established myself on its back, by way of showing camelship, I leaned forward, thinking it would of course rise on its forelegs first. I was betrayed by my own ignorance of the singular habit of the animal: it rose first on its hindlegs and threw me with some force over its head, to the infinite delight of the Arabs...

Had he not lost his seat so precipitately, he would have had the pleasure of the rest of the camel's act: 'The animal first rising with a spring behind, throws itself forward, then backwards, and then again forwards, so that it requires some

degree of skill to preserve the equilibrium', observed Mrs Elwood (1830, 142). Dismounting was also disconcerting. When told to kneel, wrote Palmer, camels 'at once set up a hideous moan, as though in direst anguish, and, twisting their long necks, regard their riders with mingled indignation and contempt. At last, and quite unexpectedly, the beasts flop down upon their forelegs, and after an interval follow suit with their hinder parts' (Palmer 1871, 193).

BEHAVIOUR

Perhaps camels, like humans, differ in their temperaments. How else to account for the variance in the travellers' opinions of them? Said Doughty (1979, 501) in 1888, 'the great brute is of a mild nature'. Wellsted (1838, 299), while acknowledging its 'patience and other admirable qualities', writes that a recent traveller (unnamed)

reports the creature as a peaceful, quiet animal who will reprove his fellow gently if he is at fault ... On the contrary, I should say, they are the most quarrelsome brutes in existence. After the hardest day's journey, no sooner is the baggage removed than the attention of the driver is continually required to keep them from fighting: 'the gentle reprovals' being ferocious bites and lacerations of each others' ears.

In the early 1830s, two of John Lloyd Stephens' camels did not even wait to be unloaded to start a fight (1970, 293). Stephens' provisions and 'household apparatus' were on one of them: 'I will not go into particulars, for eggs, rice, macaroni and lamp-oil make a bad mixture.'

But the characteristic of the camel that arouses most resentment in our travellers is that, as Doughty says (1979, 501), he 'shows no affection for mankind'. 'If "docile" means stupid, well and good ... the camel is the very model of docility. But', writes Palgrave bitterly (1865, 25),

if this epithet is meant to designate an animal that takes an interest in its rider so far as a beast can, that in some way understands his intentions and shares them in a subordinate fashion, that it obeys him from a sort of submissive or half fellow feeling with its master, like the horse and elephant, then I say that the camel is by no means docile ... he takes no heed of his rider, pays no attention whether he be on his back or not ... He will never attempt to *throw* you off his back, such a trick being far beyond his limited comprehension; but if you *fall* off, he will never dream of stopping for you, and walks on just the same, grazing while he goes, without knowing or caring an atom what has become of you.

Nevertheless, if the camel feels no love or obligation to humans, it is not devoid of an opposite emotion. It has, says Fabri (1896, 457), 'a tenacious memory of wrong done to it, and if it be beaten, will long dissimulate its hatred until it finds a suitable time, when it will repay the injury it has received.' 'One passion alone he possesses, namely revenge', writes Palgrave, illustrating his assertion with a chilling anecdote (1865, 25):

A young boy had repeatedly beaten a loaded camel on a journey; a few days later he was returning with the camel unladen. About half-way on the road, the camel suddenly stopped, looked deliberately round in every direction to assure itself that no-one was within sight ... seized the unlucky boy's head in its monstrous mouth, and lifting him up in the air flung him down again on the earth with the upper part of his skull completely torn off and his brains scattered on the ground. Having thus satisfied its revenge, the brute quietly resumed its pace towards the village.

Now, having totally alienated you from the beast, I must evoke a more sympathetic emotion. I mentioned above those belligerent camels who scrambled Lloyd Stephens' baggage. The next morning 'we had another camel scene; for one of the combatants was stretched upon the sand ... The Bedouins had examined him, and satisfied that the hand of death was upon him, they left him to breathe his last alone' (Stephens 1970, 293). Considering how important the camel was to the Bedouin, Stephens expected some sorrow to be expressed.

But I saw nothing of the kind; they left him in the last stages of his struggle with the great enemy with as much indifference, I was going to say, as if he had been a brute; and he was a brute; but it was almost worth a passing tear to leave even a brute to die alone in the desert ... But the only lament that the sheik made was, that they had lost 20 dollars, and we left him to die in the sand.

Keane's camel, Mabarek, falling ill, met a kinder fate. The sheik pronounced him incurable, 'and advised the one relief left the patient. Mabarek's owner savagely drew his knife and the brute made a movement that looked almost like presenting its throat, anxious to meet the welcome blade' (Keane 1881b, 38). One of Lady Anne Blunt's camels, struggling to keep up, was at last defeated by a hill (Blunt 1881, vol. 2, 6):

We left him, I am glad to say, in a bit of wady, where there was some grass, but I fear his chance was a small one. Camels seldom recover when they get past a certain state of exhaustion. They break their hearts like deer and die. Poor Shenuan! I shall not easily forget his face, looking wistfully after his companions as they disappeared over the crest of the hill.

It is difficult to sum up so many different views. 'The camel is the most useful animal in the East' (Warburton 1845, vol. 1, 238); 'the camel is a much over-rated beast and is the very incarnation of peevish ill-temper' (Palmer 1871, vol. 1, 30). It is stupid, it does not love its master, it is vengeful, it is complaining, it is enduring of great hardship, the Bedouin culture could not exist without it. To our travellers it has given much discomfort, and most of their accounts ring with complaint and even barely suppressed rage. And yet, the camel has moved some to sympathetic and some even to poetic writing. 'Ship of the desert' is a lyrical phrase, but the Arabs, said Warburton (*ibid.*, 238), call ships the 'camels of the sea ... a most natural figure of speech to those who have watched a fleet of these animals, towering over the undulations of the desert.' I conclude with part of a rather beautiful passage from William Bartlett (1848, vol. 1, 6):

A singular and half dreamy sensation is that of first riding the camel ... Your seat, on a broad pile of carpets, is so easy and indolent, the pace of the animal is so easy and quiet ... the air fans you so lazily as you move along; from your lofty post your view over the desert is so extended, the quiet is so intense, that you fall by degrees into a state of pleasant reverie, mingling early ideas of the East with their almost fanciful realisation.

And thus the hours pass away till a sense of physical uneasiness begins to predominate and at length becomes absorbing ... To lose your sense of weariness you seek to urge the animal to a trot; but a few such experiments suffice, fatigue is better than a downright dislocation, and you resign yourself perforce to the horrible see-saw and provoking tranquillity of your weary pace, till the sun's decline enables you to descend and walk over the shining gravel.

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*From Narrative of a Journey from
Calcutta to Europe by Way of Egypt*
by Mrs [Sarah C.] Lushington

(London 1829, pp. 47–48)

Some time elapsed before so large a party as ours could be accommodated with camels; they were procurable in any number, though they could not be collected without a little delay. They were white and black, besides the usual dun colour. I may here remark, that the distinction between dromedary and camel is no further known in Egypt, than that the former is used for the purposes of riding and despatch, the latter for the conveyance of burthens.

Our cavalcade consisted of ninety-six camels, besides many asses, – no great number, when it is to be recollected we carried with us tents, wine, water, and provisions. The Captain, and one of the officers of the *Palinurus*, had joined our party, and with them several Lascars, who were of great use in pitching our tents, &c. &c.

For Mr. L., myself, and two servants, we had twenty-two camels and three donkeys. I was to travel in a covered litter, called a *Tukhte rowan*, somewhat resembling a Sicilian *lettiga*: this was made at Bombay of the strongest possible materials, and, in consequence of its weight and size, it was necessary to employ the largest and tallest camels for its conveyance. The machine, from its height, presented a formidable appearance, being raised six feet above the ground; and I had to ascend to it by a ladder, which, from the unsteadiness of the camels, was rather a difficult undertaking.

Travel Clubs in the Era of the First Czechoslovak Republic

Adéla Jůnova Macková

Travel clubs in the era of the First Czechoslovak Republic (1918–38) organised trips around nearly all the world, catering for all social groups: in addition to wealthy tourists, we know of Boy Scouts, students, teachers, clerks and journalists. There were two clubs that arranged regular travel to the area of the Near East, especially to Egypt, in the 1930s. The Friends of the Orient Travel Club operated in Prague from 1930 to 1936, and the Study Travel Club in 1934–35. These clubs were similar to travel agencies but operated under different rules, for members of the travelling group were also members of the clubs.

FRIENDS OF THE ORIENT TRAVEL CLUB AND THE STUDY TRAVEL CLUB

The Friends of the Orient Club (Klub přátel Orientu) was founded on 5 April 1930 (Archive of Prague, 10831 (XXII-1807); Archive of the National Museum in Prague, Jaroslav Petrbok acquisition, box 11). Vladimír Kraus became chairman and played the major role in its various undertakings. The work of the club mainly involved studies of the life, culture and history of the Near East, and as such included study tours and lectures by members, the providing of information to foreign colleagues and the establishment of contacts with prominent people from Oriental countries, and subscriptions to important books and magazines. The club published its own magazine, called *Oása*, from 1934 to 1937, printing scientific and popular articles, advertisements of new books connected with the Orient and travelling, and schedules of journeys and lectures conducted by the club (fig. 1). Members of the club paid 25 crowns per year, which entitled them to free entry to the lectures and discounts for the trips and for the magazine

a profit of 10% on the price of its tours, though it did have to pay for the guides. Some participants complained in 1935 about the timetable, the comfort of accommodation and travel, and that the guide did not keep to the route, and the club was disbanded that year. All the documents concerning the club's trips, and its travel diaries, were confiscated by police and are not preserved.

The Study Travel Club (Klub pro Studijní Cesty) was founded in November 1934 (Archive of Prague, 5186 (IX-886)), with Jan Moučka as chairman. The club's Charter was almost identical to that of the Friends of the Orient Club, though it was directly stated that the Study Travel Club had been founded mainly for practical reasons: to provide a central focus for the better organization of foreign travel.



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ZÁJEZD LEVANTEM 1935

PALESTINA - SYRIE - EGYPT

TURECKO - RODOS - ŘECKO - ITALIE

Za příznivého ohlasu po loňském zájezdu, který byl velmi zdařilý a znamenal počátek nové éry v čs. turistice v Orientě, Klub pro studijní cesty koná letos obdobnou společenskou plavbu spojenou s turistickou a studijní prohlídkou jedné z nejzajímavějších zemí Starého Světa.

Podrobný pořad:

11. července: Sraz členů zájezdu ve 21 hodin v salonku restaurace II. tř. Masarykova nádraží v Praze. Rozloučení s pražskými členy, oficiálními delegáty kolegiálních korporací a přáteli a příznivci klubu. Odjezd z Prahy v 23 10 hodin rychlíkem do Bratislavy.

12. července: Příjezd do Bratislavy v 5.45 hodin. V 9 hodin sraz v restauraci Zemědělského domu s členy zájezdu z Moravy a Slovenska. Společný odchod do bratislavského přístavu, v 10.15 hod. odjezd dunajským expresním parníkem. Cesta přes Komárno, Ostřihom, večer Budapešť (možnost krátké prohlídky města). Odjezd z Budapešti.

13. července: Na Dunaji, seznámení členů zájezdu, informování v malých kroužcích, seznámení s vybranou jugoslávskou lodní kuchyní. Zajímavá plavba podél Bakonského jezera, Nový Sad, Bělehrad (Stručná prohlídka). Odjezd z Bělehradu.

14. července: Na Dunaji podél hranice jugoslávské a rumunské. Plavba vodními spády, Kazaňským pusem,



Fig. 2. Advertisement of Levant tours for 1935 by the Study Travel Club, from Study Travel. Archive of the National Museum in Prague, Jaroslav Petrbok acquisition, box 11.

The magazine printed by this club, *Study Travel (Studijní Cesty)*, mainly contains information about and advertising for various trips; there are no academic or general travel articles. A trip through the Levant was introduced in a very detailed manner in the magazine. This tour was a bit shorter than the one offered by the Friends of the Orient Club; for example, in Egypt the tourists travelled only to Alexandria and Cairo, rather than further up the Nile. The club also advertised in newspapers and brochures: a brochure printed in 1934 announced the Levantine trip, including the Balkan peninsula, Turkey, Greece, Syria, Palestine and Egypt (fig. 2).

The Study Travel Club also had difficulties with critical participants and aggrieved travel agencies, the latter of whom blamed the club for transporting immigrants to Palestine. Like Vladimír Kraus, Jan Moučka was fined for operating a travel agency without permission in 1935. The accusation from legitimate travel agencies that these two clubs were operating as travel agencies in all but name was probably not wide of the mark. We know from the material available to us, for instance, that the Study Travel Club carried out ten trips with 450 people altogether in 1935. Their advertisements suggest that their travels were not only for club members, for these appeared not only in club magazines and brochures sent to members, but also on bills stuck up on the streets and in newspapers.

EMÍLIE JAHNOVÁ'S JOURNEY THROUGH THE NEAR EAST WITH THE FRIENDS OF THE ORIENT

Based on the evidence of the advertisements in *Oáza*, a long trip to the Near East was offered by the Friends of the Orient Travel Club twice a year between 1930 and 1936. Over 30 days the participants visited the most interesting towns and ancient monuments in Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Greece (fig. 3). Trains and ships were pre-booked, and cars were rented during the journey; participants were accommodated in high-standard hotels, and a well-informed guide visited all the sites with them.

One of these biannual trips was described in detail by a secondary school teacher named Emílie Jahnová in a book called *To the Orient (Do Orientu)*, published in 1934. Jahnová taught at a Czech grammar school in Vienna and learned about the travel club from a brochure. The trip began when 20 participants met at the Wilson railway station in Prague in the summer of 1933; we know that three of them were teachers and one a doctor. Their guide was Mr Kraus, who had travelled through the Near East many times and had studied Egyptology at Charles University.

The group travelled through the Balkan peninsula to Constanza by train and



Fig. 3. Members of the Friends of the Orient travel club in Constantinople (Istanbul), from Oása 1934. vol. 3.

then to Constantinople (Istanbul) by ship – their first properly Eastern city. They then went by train to Aleppo in Syria, from then on using touring cars. They visited Beirut, Damascus and Jerusalem, continuing on to Qantara; a seven-hour journey then brought them to Cairo. They were accommodated in the Hotel Bristol, situated nearly in the centre of the city next to the Ezbekija Gardens. Interestingly, their first steps in Cairo were to the Budweiser alehouse, to support the business of a Czech ex-patriot. They visited old and modern parts of Cairo, including the zoo, a favourite of Jahnová: 'The magnificent zoo in Cairo differs from other zoos in Europe not only by the variety and abundance of types of animals, mainly African ones, but also by the beauty of each specimen.' (Jahnová 1934, 39).

Jahnová commented on places, monuments, daily life and experiences during the journey. The weather in Cairo was hot, and the Europeans were always thirsty:

It is said that an inhabitant of Middle Europe, coming to Egypt, drinks about five litres of water a day. I think that we drank even more. They did not even get to bring us water with ice, for big bowls of ice were quickly taken away and jars with water were emptied immediately. We took thermos bottles with water and ice to our rooms for the night, but in the morning we wanted water again. In a few days we were so thirsty that we took the ice from the fridge and sometimes we plundered all the ice inside. (Jahnová 1934, 39)

On an excursion to the monuments surrounding Cairo, much appreciated by Jahnová, they visited in one day Memphis, Sakkara, Abusir and Giza. The very popular conclusion of this trip was a climb to the top of Khufu's pyramid in Giza, though the ladies were too tired to follow their male companions.

Amazingly, the guide, Mr Kraus, did not let them go inside the pyramid, saying that it was not interesting!

In a few days they continued on to Luxor, probably travelling third class by train. The Friends of the Orient party was accommodated in the Pension de Famille, and after breakfast on the first day they started their sightseeing in Luxor temple. Jahnová begins her remarks on Luxor temple with her own deep impressions, but her comments soon turn into a didactic description from Baedeker:

If I should write about the magnificent ruins of Luxor and Karnack temple, you would see, again, that it is not possible to describe it in words. Just as we stood in pious astonishment in front of the ruins of Baalbek in Syria, so how could we make amazed comparisons while we walked through magnificent columns and great halls in the temple of Sun god? (Jahnová 1934, 45)

She was well informed, having read both Baedeker and scholarly literature, so she was quite impressed by Mr Kraus' performance in, for example, the large Karnack temple.

The party looked round the Valley of the Kings, the temples at Deir el-Bahri, the Ramesseum, Medinet Habu and the statues of Memnon. They were able to see so much because they had free entry to all the ancient monuments in Upper Egypt, due to a good relationship between the club and the Oriental Institute in Prague. The club advertised a visit to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, stressing especially the golden treasure of Tutankhamen. Here in the Valley of the Kings the tomb itself was closed, so they climbed a hill overlooking the valley: 'We could see some of the most beautiful scenery on our journey, the powerful Nile in its beauty, with wide banks full of palms and ruins of old monuments. Above it were flying aasvogels and eagles, and above all was fantastic blue sky' (Jahnová 1934, 49).

The group continued to the first Nile cataract in Aswan, where it was accommodated in the centrally located Hotel James. (Note the differences between the participants' level of accommodation and their travel class in the train. Hotels were cheaper in the summer because of the heat, and railways offered discounts for groups according to class.) The party looked round Elephantine Island and the famous Aswan quarries, then sailed to the main attraction here, the temple on the island of Philae. The tour ended with a visit to the Aswan dam:

Our eyes, used to observing ancient monuments, watched the rushing workers in astonishment. I remembered a picture I had seen a long time ago, depicting the construction of Cheops' pyramid – people like small ants were trudging, and the all-powerful pharaoh supervised them from his throne. I compared this picture in

my mind with the work on the Aswan dam – a monument that should ensure the immortality of a person and a construction that should improve the standard of earth-life. (Jahnová 1934, 54)

The journey round Egypt finished in Alexandria, where the group spent only one day before embarking for Greece. They had time only for a quick tour of the city, to see the most important monuments of Alexandria – the Column of Pompey and the catacombs. They stayed in a good hotel again, Canal du Suez, and ate in a Pilsner alehouse whose owner and cook were also from the Czechoslovak Republic.

THE LURE OF THE TRAVEL CLUBS

Had Jahnová travelled alone she would have never been able to organise such a long and interesting trip, for we can see the well-prepared travel schedules, accommodation and sightseeing on every page of her book. That said, the book may have been intended to advertise the trip to future participants of similar journeys, and so may be somewhat idealised.

Trips arranged by the travel clubs were not as comfortable or well organised as those of the travel agencies, but they were much favoured by teachers, students and clerks because of their lower prices and summer schedules. Another advantage to travelling with a club was that the programme was much more flexible than those normally organized by agencies. Individual participants could remain longer at one place and rejoin the group later, and they could pay for better accommodation, or a better train or ship class, if desired. The guides knew the routes and the languages and had a substantial knowledge of geography and the history of visited countries and ancient monuments. In the case of the Friends of the Orient Travel Club they were also well informed before the journey started, for the club held meetings on the first and third Saturday of every month in the Café Louvre in Prague. Participants received all necessary information and advice on what to take with them for a journey through the Orient.

The main reason behind the attraction of the clubs must have been financial, though. Travelling with the clubs was relatively cheap, with a guide included and everything arranged in advance. Comparing the cost of a five-day trip to Cairo organized by the Čedok travel agency to that of the trip offered by the Friends of the Orient illustrates how great a difference in price existed: a mere five days with Čedok cost 2500 crowns (fig. 4), whereas the 30-day Friends of the Orient trip cost between 5500 and 7000 crowns, according to type of transfer and accommodation. And while many people who organised their own itinerary

Theby.

Pět dní v Kairu.

1. den: Večer příjezd do Kaira. Prohlídka města povozem. Mouski, bazáry, mešita Al-Azhar (arabská universita s 10.000 studenty), mešita Saijina, Hosen, hroby kalifů. Odpoledne mešita sultána Hassana, Citadella, alabastrová mešita Mohamed Ali a hroby Mameluků.
2. den: Výlet automobilem k pyramidám v Gizeh. Od Mena house se koná cesta dle přání na oslu neb velbloudu. Na zpáteční cestě prohlídka zoologické zahrady. Odpoledne výlet povozem do Al-Fostat (Staré Kairo), prohlídka jedné synagogy, koptského kostela a musea předmětů ze čtvrtého století. Prohlídka nilometru na ostrově Rhoda.
3. den: Návštěva egyptského musea a procházka po ostrově Ghézirch. Odpoledne automobilem do Starého a Nového města Helio-polis. Prohlídka jednoho obelisku a stro-mu sv. Panny.
4. den: Výlet k Nekropoli Saqqarah a zříceninám města Memphis. Povozem na nádraží v Kairu a železnici II. tř. do Badreschein, pak dle přání buď na oslu neb na velbloudu k Memphisidě. Prohlídka obou kolosů Ramsových. Oběd v Mariette's Hou-

se. Vycházka pokračuje pouští až k pyramidám v Gizeh. Návrat do Kaira elektrickou drahou.

5. den: Buď ráno nebo odpoledne železnici I. tř. do Helouan-les-Bains a prohlídka sirnatých lázní. Celkem zůstává celý den k dispozici cestujícímu.

Arrangement počíná noclehem dne příjezdu a končí obědem pátého dne.

Cena obnáší Kč 2.490.— pro 1 osobu,
Kč 4.000.— pro 2 osoby,
Kč 5.063.— pro 3 osoby,
Kč 1.660.— pro 1 osobu při skupině 4 osob.

Bologna — dvě věže.

Fig. 4. Advertisement of the Čedok Travel Agency, 1927: Five Days in Cairo. Archive of the National Museum in Prague, Jaroslav Petrbok acquisition, box 11.

visited only Cairo and its surroundings, the Friends of the Orient Travel Club organised tours far to the south of Egypt. Included in the price were nearly all expenses, such as visa, insurance, fares, accommodation, meals, tips, excursions according to the programme, and entry fees. Trips took place in April and June to take advantage of cheaper accommodation and fares, so participants could travel more luxuriously for less money. They travelled second and third class on the railway, second class with sleeping berth and board on the ship, and used

high-standard hotels. The Friends of the Orient Travel Club also provided a very special service: members could pay for the journey in instalments, or the club might help with the arrangement of a bank loan. They even offered assistance with another financial problem, that of taking foreign exchange out of the country during the worldwide Depression of the 1930s:

All of us know today very well how difficult it is to go abroad. The National Bank is on the lookout for anybody attempting such a thing, and is ready to trample on him from the very beginning. The probability that your aspiration to see and enjoy yourselves will be officially destroyed is 99 percent certain.

And (in case the bank helped [to finance your trip]) do not be over-optimistic as to hope that by avoiding Scylla you will also have escaped Charybdis. For example, take Palestine. To keep immigrants in check, they demand a guarantee of 7500 crowns to be given before the journey begins and before you may enter the territory, even though you are a tourist. ... Well, do not despair. We are there, with long experience and credit with our own and foreign authorities; we will put aside troubles that could spoil your journey and its impressions. (*Oása* 1936, vol. 3, 78)

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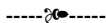
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Oása, I (1933–34) through III (1936), and partly in 1937.

L O N D O N.



THE CONTINENT.

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